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Free Minds and Free Markets

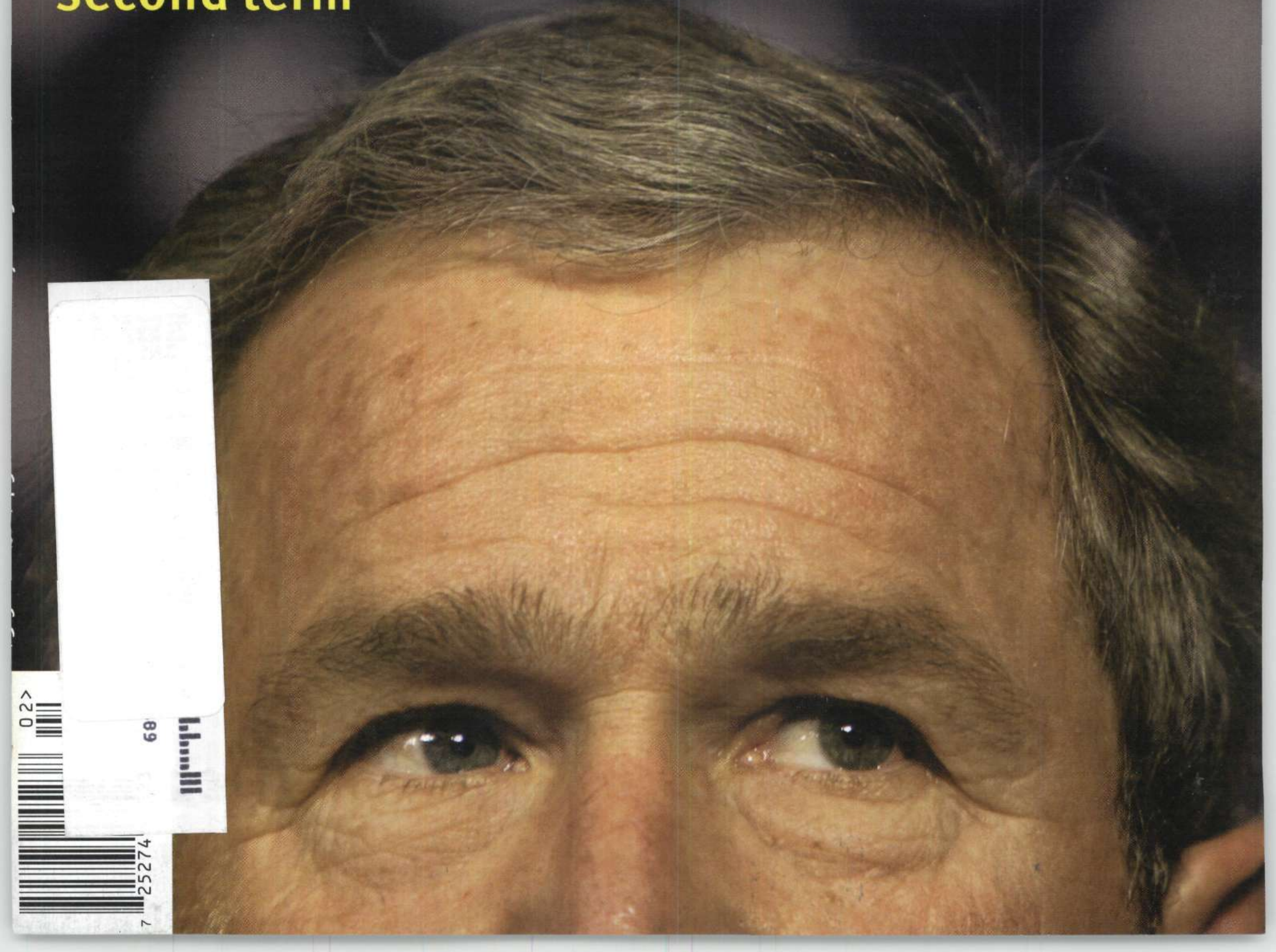
Alfred Kinsey's permanent sexual revolution

FOUR MORE YEARS!?!?!

7 high hopes and 7 big fears for Bush's second term

Humanizing gun nuts

Snow Crash's Neal Stephenson on science, terrorism, and *The Baroque Cycle*



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Free Minds and Free Markets

February 2005
Volume 36, No. 9

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Four More Years...But of What?

If history is any guide—a questionable assumption in a post–Cold War, post-9/11, post–Dan Rather world in which many of the old verities seem as unreliable as the dodgy newsman's secret memos—George W. Bush has anywhere from six months to two years before his second term is completely mired in a scandal that will be as unpredictable as it is agenda-crushing. (Really, who could have anticipated the irresistibly tawdry denouement to Bill Clinton's White House years?) No wonder Dubya is talking about using his "political capital" to jump-start a series of legacy projects. The son of a one-term president probably knows better than most that he's living on borrowed time.

I've never been a Bush booster. He spends too much money, plays loose with civil liberties, and, to my mind, failed to articulate a persuasive case for war in Iraq. But so far I've been impressed with the things he's been talking about doing during the next four years, especially tax simplification (always a good idea), immigration liberalization (ditto), and Social Security privatization (though the plan he apparently has endorsed for this is puny and insignificant). It's far from clear that Bush will accomplish much before scandal—or the equally inevitable and debilitating lame duckness of a second termer—kicks in.

In "Four More Years!?!?!" (page 22), we asked a series of pundits and pols to reveal their hopes and fears about the next four years. It says something that most participants—ranging from Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas) to former **reason** Editor Virginia Postrel to Nobel Prize winner Vernon Smith to ACLU President Nadine Strossen—express ambivalence about Bush's agenda, his ability to get things done, or both. This much is certain: If Bush helps deliver anything approaching democracy in the Middle East, his legacy will be nothing short of monumental. The stakes certainly are high. As Contributing Editor Michael Young—the opinion editor of Lebanon's *Daily Star*, the most important English-language paper in the Arab world—writes, "Otherwise the Iraqi adventure will have been a spectacular waste of life."

Other stories in this issue also raise what might be called legacy questions. In "Our Forgotten Goddess" (page 46), Senior Editor Brian Doherty discusses Isabel Paterson, the largely forgotten literary critic who hugely, if indirectly, influenced the contemporary libertarian movement by arguing that human freedom is a precondition for human flourishing. Assistant Editor Julian Sanchez argues that the great contribution of controversial sexologist Alfred Kinsey, subject of a new movie and novel, was to radically individualize sexuality ("Doctor Sex, Ph.D.," page 60). And in an interview that begins on page 38, Neal Stephenson, author of *Snow Crash* and *The Baroque Cycle* and one of the most imaginative and insightful voices in contemporary American letters, explains why Leibniz, Newton, and the Age of Enlightenment may be even more important to the next four years than anything George Bush pulls off in a second term.

—Nick Gillespie

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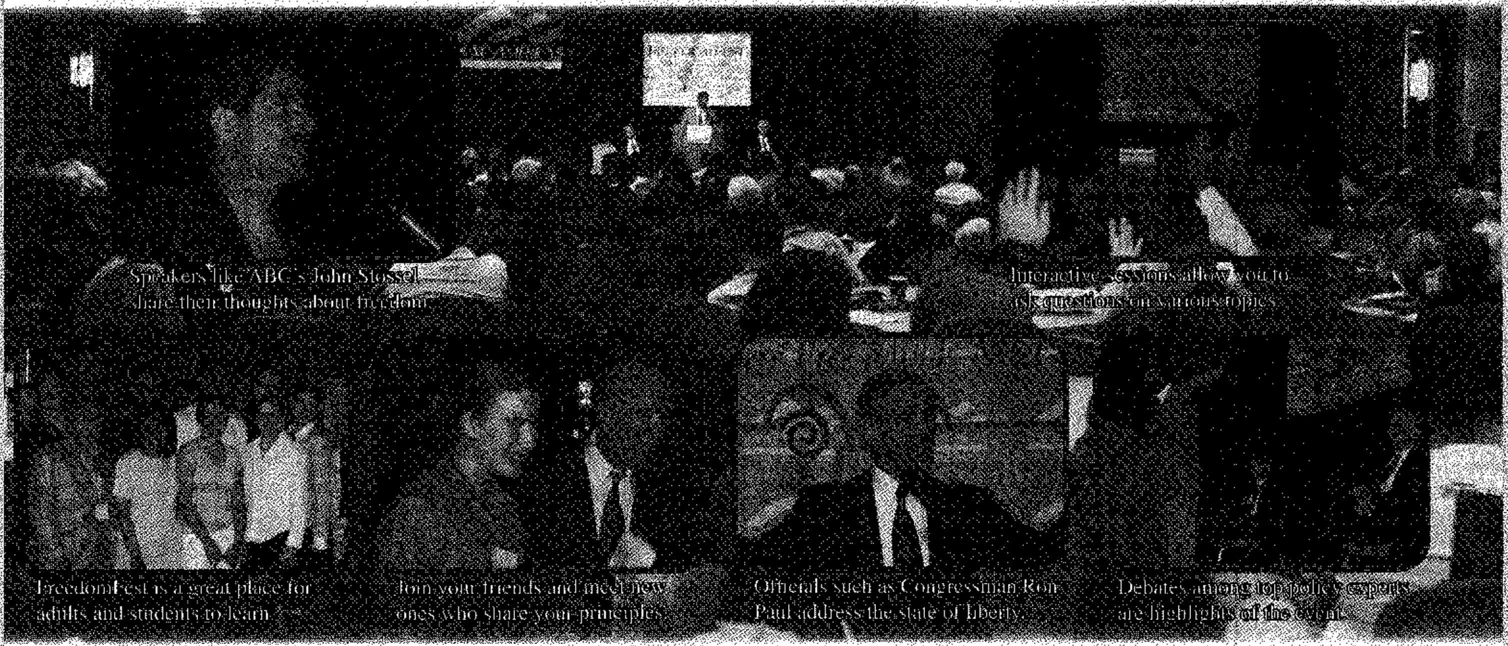

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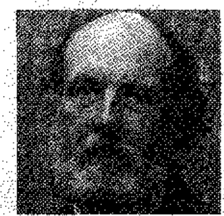
Randal O'Toole

Stephen Town

Eric Dzinski

Julian Sanchez

Randal O'Toole has one reason to be grateful for the meddling of urban planners: By limiting the city's expansion, they artificially inflated housing prices in the Portland, Oregon, suburb where he used to live, enabling him to move to a less dense town where he can safely walk his dog and ride his bicycle some 200 miles each week. "If it were in a New Urbanist area," he says, "I wouldn't be allowed to own a dog and I'd probably get hit by a car on my bike." O'Toole, senior economist at the Thoreau Institute, wrote about the folly of New Urbanism in America for **reason** back in 1999. In this issue he looks at how British planners influenced by New Urban nostrums have created "Crime-Friendly Neighborhoods" (page 30). The article's other author, Stephen Town, is the police architectural liaison officer for the city of Bradford, West Yorkshire, in northern England. Town co-wrote the book *Design Against Crime: Guidance for the Design of Residential Areas.*

Coloradoan Eric Dzinski confesses, slightly sheepishly, that he's "never actually held a gun before." But the recent Whittier College grad, who just finished a stint at his home state's Independence Institute, has an appreciation of the importance of Second Amendment rights, which comes through in his review of Abigail Kohn's *Shooters* (page 56). Dzinski is currently applying to graduate programs in philosophy; in the interim, he's biding his time by writing about and enjoying the Denver indie music scene.

In "Doctor Sex, Ph.D." (page 60), Assistant Editor Julian Sanchez considers the influence of Alfred C. Kinsey, the sex investigator who recently inspired both a major motion picture and a T.C. Boyle novel. "More than anyone else," he says, "Kinsey took sex out of the realm of rumor and taboo, and turned it into a subject of scientific scrutiny, like any other human behavior. We take it for granted now that any reasonably educated teenager is going to have a basic understanding of how sex works." A resident of Washington, D.C., Sanchez is about a 1.5 on the Kinsey scale.

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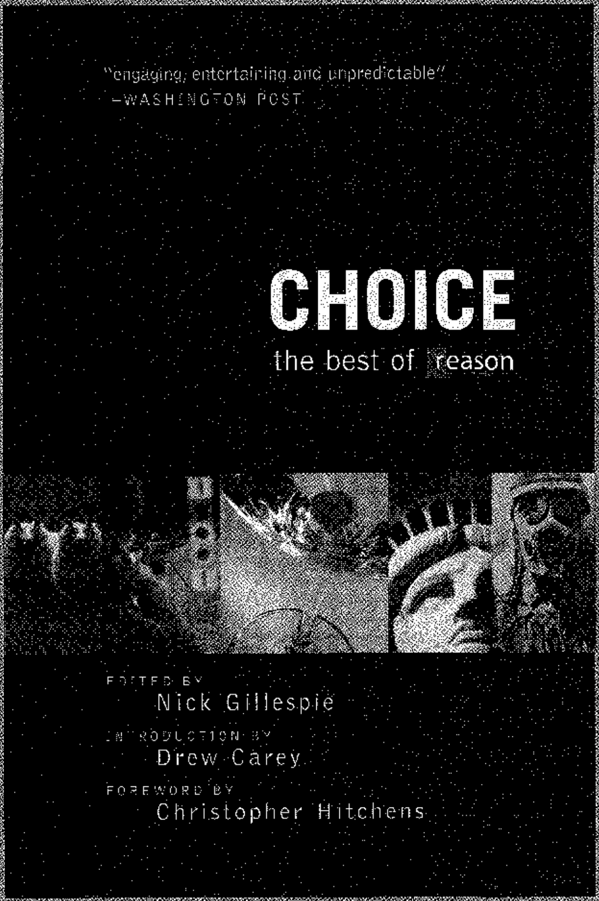
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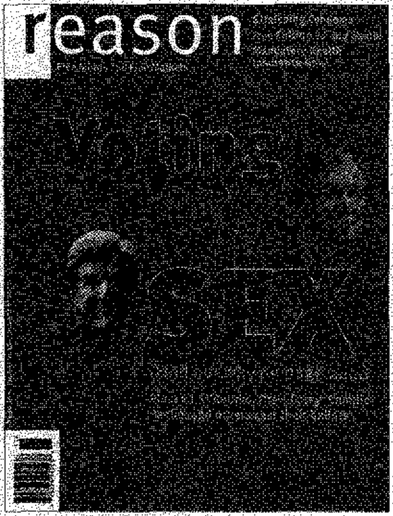

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A Swift Boat Kick in the Teeth

I can find only one place in Matt Welch's "A Swift Boat Kick in the Teeth" (November) where Welch actually addresses something he found to be untrue in the swift boat vets' claims: "For instance, in the original commercial, military doctor Van O'Dell said, 'John Kerry lied to get his Bronze Star....I know, I was there, I saw what happened.' In fact he wasn't there, neither when Kerry was wounded nor when he gave his account of the incident."

If Welch is such a great chaff separator, what are his sources for this statement? Did Van O'Dell ever change his claim? Welch has a Maureen Dowdish ellipsis in there. What did he cut out from what Van O'Dell said?

Welch never addresses the most damning claim of the swift boat vets, that Kerry behaved traitorously after returning from Vietnam. His statements on the record to Congress are an excellent illustration of a drunken (on the possibility of power) sailor in a bar reporting something he has "heard," not what he has witnessed. That these statements were used by North Vietnamese on our POWs is a matter of record as well.

Luke Granfield
Iowa City, IA

Matt Welch replies: Luke Granfield is correct, and I am in error. Van O'Dell was there; I mixed him up with swift boater Louis Leston, who was not. I regret the foul-up.

Mandatory Health Insurance Now!

Ronald Bailey advocates "Mandatory Health Insurance Now!" (November). So did some Republicans in Congress during the height of the Billarycare proposal 10 years ago, and so has *The Economist*. Here's why they're all wrong.

Bailey likens a mandate that adults buy health insurance to requirements for car and home insurance. This is a bad analogy. If you don't drive or own a car, you don't have to buy auto insurance. If you aren't actually paying a mortgage, you don't have to buy home insurance.

Bailey is also guilty of bad math. He claims policies covering catastrophic expenses "typically" cost less than $300 per month for a family of four. A typical figure for just a married couple (no children, both in excellent health) is actually over $400 a month. *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* just mentioned the case of one couple who were quoted $1,700 per month for full coverage by Anthem, the health insurer of last resort in Virginia. Oh, and good luck getting coverage at any price if you have any pre-existing conditions or a child with medical problems. Don't forget the market: Impose a mandate, and watch premiums skyrocket as insurers take advantage.

Bailey mentions couples with income of more than $50,000 a year who "choose" to go without health insurance. Someone working for a company making that amount typically would have employer-provided insurance. A little checking would reveal that many of these people are self-employed, trying to run small businesses, or working several part-time jobs to make that amount, and that this is not what they necessarily make every year. Fifty grand is not a lot of income any more: In many areas of the country it is not enough to qualify for a home mortgage, for example. Impose a mandate, and see a lot of struggling small businesses close.

Realistically speaking, what would Bailey propose doing with those who lose their jobs and are unable to pay for this mandated health insurance? Throw them in jail? Fine them? If they can't afford insurance, how will they afford a fine? Mandating health insurance in response to the ongoing crisis in medical care is like solving the problem of affordable housing by mandating that everyone buy a house. Such a mandate is unworkable, unconstitutional, and unlibertarian.

Edwin Krampitz Jr.
Drewryville, VA

The Ronald Bailey article is interesting, but there seem to be two striking flaws in the proposal. Group health insurance in large companies protects the individual with costly conditions by including him with the less costly. As an individual, he will be dropped or his rates will soar.

As for a large deductible making people smart consumers, this only applies to people who are already putting the least strain on the system. People with big medical costs know that they are going to fulfill the deductible at the start of the year, so they have no incentive to shop around. Truth is, the healthy will not give much thought to cost until they get a nasty health surprise, and that's not the time to shop.

Richard Bellerose
San Francisco, CA

By endorsing mandatory health insurance, Ronald Bailey grabbed hold of an important plank in any effective platform of an improved health care system. But he may have promised more than it will likely deliver.

The best analogy is to the workers' compensation system in the United States, in which I have worked for some time. Coverage is not perfect, but almost all civilian workers enjoy adequate protections, including defined benefits and assurance that the employer has the financial means to honor its obligations. Gaming by workers, employers, and insurers is constrained. Except in pockets, there is no crisis of the uninsured or underinsured.

For a telling exception, look to asbestos-related diseases, which are almost entirely work-related. To sighs of relief from the state workers' comp systems, but ultimately great disturbance to the American judicial system and economy, asbestos lawyers in the 1970s won the ability to file much more open-ended product liability suits. Had asbestos been kept within workers' compensation and had personal injury law firms been less lubricated from asbestos settlements, we might today have a smaller personal injury suit problem in the nation.

But the history of workers' comp has not shown that open competition among private insurers is more successful than single payer or a mix of private and government insurance. Washington and Ohio, for example, are two of the handful of states with single-payer workers' comp systems. In numerous other states, large state-sponsored insurers compete against private insurers. At day's end, how insurance is organized does not seem to make much of a difference in employer and worker satisfaction or in relative costs.

Peter Rousmaniere
Woodstock, VT

Ronald Bailey replies: First, I want to stress that mandatory health insurance is a second-best proposal. A totally free market system would be preferable; it's just not likely politically. Mandatory health insurance is a way to stop creeping socialization and preserve private medicine.

Regarding my math, Edwin Krampitz must be thinking of low-deductible insurance. I got my figures from Golden Rule Health Insurance but found, with just a few clicks, quotes for 11 high-deductible policies for a family of four ranging from $155 per month to $290 per month, with many more offered for below $400 per month. (As for the $50,000 figure, I simply quoted Sen. Bill Frist as evidence that pressure to require people to buy insurance is building.)

Krampitz should also think about just how many small businesses are being bankrupted by our current dysfunctional health insurance system. And there is no need for fines or jail under my proposal. If he had read a bit more carefully, Krampitz would have found that I suggest that people have health savings accounts that could be used to pay for health insurance premiums while they are between jobs, and as a last resort that the federal government provide vouchers for our poorest citizens to purchase private health insurance.

Richard Bellerose's point that current group plans offered by companies cover costly individuals is well taken. Mandated catastrophic health insurance will have to be offered under some sort of community rating system so that the level of risk an individual consumer poses to an insurer does not affect the premium paid. With regard to his second objection, individuals would be required only to buy insurance to cover catastrophic health costs. If they want low-deductible policies, they will have to pay more based on their actual risks and/or save for their additional expenses in their health savings accounts. This is not a perfect system, just a hell of a lot better than the likely alternatives.

To Peter Rousmaniere: Don't get me started on tort reform.

DEA painkiller flip-flop; the U.N. vs. cloning; DNA testing victory; San Francisco unwired; money keeps talking; backfiring racial preferences; torture and defeat; blogger death threats

Sea change in California

Three Strikes, Out?

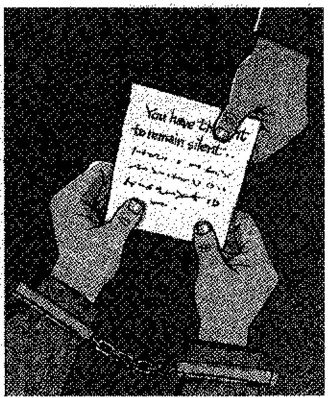
Matt Welch

SINCE 1994 California's "three strikes" law has mandated that criminals convicted of a third felony must be sentenced to at least 25 years in prison, regardless of the third crime's severity, if one of the three offenses was "serious or violent." On November 2, by a vote of 53 percent to 47 percent, Golden State voters failed to pass Proposition 66, which would have required that the *third* offense be "serious or violent." Polls showed the initiative attracting 62 percent support just two weeks before Election Day; it took every living current and former California governor and millions of dollars' worth of last-ditch TV ads to derail it.

Despite the defeat, evidence is mounting that California's tough-on-crime wave has reached its crest. "There's some real reason to be optimistic about the situation," says Lenor Nunez, deputy campaign manager of the Yes on 66 Coalition. "Now that the governor saw that 4.5 million people voted for some sort of reform, he knows the people of California are tired of the three-strikes law, and he has already said he's now willing to negotiate." Indeed, while Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger opposed Proposition 66—it would have required rehearings and possible releases for up to 26,000 third-strike prisoners, many of whom he presumed to be violent—he says he's willing to look at ways to reform the law.

Since felonies in California include shoplifting and minor drug possession, cases of disproportionate punishment have become commonplace since the three-strikes law was passed. Pam Martinez, one of the leading advocates for Proposition 66, was only recently given clemency from a 25-year sentence for stealing a $30 toolbox. About 4,300 of the 7,000 third-strikers in state prisons were sent there for nonviolent felonies. Of those, *The Orange County Register* reports, there are "357 people convicted of petty theft, 235 of vehicle theft, 69 of forgery and 678 of drug possession."

Four important developments have changed the sentencing climate in California: The prisons have become untenably overcrowded; the budget has exploded; the most tough-on-crime governor in state history, Gray Davis, was recalled; and Schwarzenegger was elected to replace him. The new governor has convened a blue-ribbon panel to investigate prison abuse and has released more convicted murderers in his first five months than Davis did in his entire five years. ∎



Schools frown on political speech

Civics Lessons

Julian Sanchez

BRAD MATHEWSON was more than a little surprised when school officials at Webb City High School in Missouri called him into the principal's office for

25 years ago in reason

"I think we ought to elect Teddy Kennedy president of the United States—he's much too dangerous as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee."

—"Reason Interview: Howard Ruff"

"China is joining the ranks of other socialist and communist countries that are being forced by reality to recognize the benefits of free-market work and exchange incentives."

—Robert Poole Jr., "Trends"

"Journalists determined not to examine the philosophy of their trade continue to write stories without evidence...with an arrogance they have had for years. As a result, they are heading for a reaction from the rest of society...that may be unpleasant for us all."

—Dennis Chase, "Overglorified Journalism"

"When a group of extremely serious, thoroughly dedicated intellectuals combine to promote radical change in the archaic, reactionary system of American private enterprise, what is their first step? They obtain a million-dollar grant from the Ford Foundation."

—Thomas W. Hazlett, "The Late, Great Center"

wearing an "offensive" T-shirt. After all, the shirt merely bore the name of a club from his previous high school in Fayetteville, Arkansas: "FHS Gay Straight Alliance."

When he came to school wearing another shirt with a gay pride message, he was sent home. On his return, he noticed that administrators didn't seem to have a similar problem with bumper stickers supporting the state's anti-gay marriage amendment or T-shirts declaring, "God Made Adam and Eve, Not Adam and Steve."

Mathewson's experience, which has fueled a lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), is extreme but not uncommon. In a highly polarized time, pedagogues seem increasingly wary of the "disruptive" effect of student political speech.

David French, head of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, cites a "dramatic spike in complaints" from high school and college students in the months preceding November's elections, including reports of faculty tearing down students' political flyers and schools banning guest speakers deemed "too partisan." Students were forbidden to wear pro-Kerry pins or shirts to a Bush campaign appearance in the gymnasium of Richland Center High School in Wisconsin. Arizona's ACLU affiliate reports that Arizona State University suddenly began enforcing a ban on banners in students' windows when two roommates hung a Bush poster.

The most outrageous cases involve administrators seeming to take one side of a political debate. But far more common, according to French, are more neutral attempts to squelch political speech, prompted not by partisanship but by a general terror of the controversy robust political speech often entails.

In a landmark 1969 decision in *Tinker v. Des Moines*, the Supreme Court put to rest the notion that "either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate," ruling that only demonstrable disruption of a public school's educational mission can be restricted. Many administrators seem all too ready to presume that anything that provokes disagreement is ipso facto "disruptive." But if not speech that provokes disagreement, what was the First Amendment meant to protect? ■

DEA painkiller flip-flop

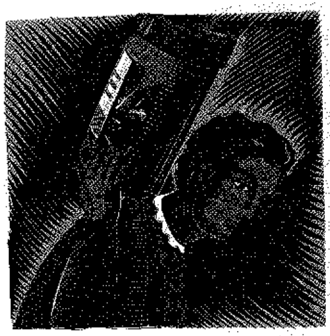
Disappearing Docs

Jacob Sullum

IN A PAMPHLET released last August, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) attempted to reassure doctors who worry that prescribing narcotics could attract unwanted attention from the government. Among other things, the agency acknowledged that "simple exposure to opioids" is not enough to produce addiction; that "any physician can be duped" by people seeking opioids for nonmedical reasons; that "pseudoaddiction," the undertreated pain patient's superficial resemblance to an addict, "greatly complicates the assessment of drug-related problems"; and that "the parameters of acceptable medical practice include patterns of drug prescription...that may raise a 'red flag' for both clinicians and regulators."

Doctors fighting the "opiophobia" that leads to widespread undertreatment of pain have been making such points for many years. But it was surprising to see them endorsed by the DEA, which has long insisted there is no conflict between drug control and pain control.

Although such concessions may have fed the fears the pamphlet was supposed to assuage, they also reinforced the arguments of doctors who say they've been unjustly prosecuted for prescribing narcotics in good faith. (See "Dr. Feelscared," August/September.) That may explain why the DEA removed the guidelines from its Web site two months after posting them, ostensibly because of unspecified "misstatements." The pamphlet, which was the product of extensive collaboration between the DEA and leading pain experts, bore the DEA's logo, and its publication was announced by a top official of the agency's Office of Diversion Control. Yet when it withdrew the guidelines, the DEA insisted "the document was not approved as an official statement of the agency and did not and does not have the force and effect of law."



The DEA pulled the pamphlet a few weeks after defense attorneys for McLean, Virginia, pain doctor William Hurwitz sought to introduce it as evidence in his federal trial on drug trafficking charges. "It seems pretty clear that they felt they had to try to get rid of the guidelines because they supported so many parts of our case," Hurwitz attorney Patrick Hallinan told *The Washington Post*. "If the Justice Department followed the guidelines, there would be no reason to arrest and charge Dr. Hurwitz." ■

Stem cell crackdown

The U.N. vs. Cloning

Ronald Bailey

IN FEBRUARY 2004, South Korean researchers created the first cloned human embryos by installing nuclei from adult cells into human eggs whose nuclei had been removed. Such "therapeutic cloning" produces embryonic stem cells with genes that are virtually identical to those of the person who donated the adult cell's nucleus. Tissues and cells produced this way would not be rejected by the donor's immune system and thus would be perfect transplants for the donor.

»

Quote

"We have to abridge individual rights, change the societal conditions, and act in ways that heretofore were not in accordance with our values and traditions, like giving a police officer or security official the right to search you without a judicial finding of probable cause." ■

—Department of Homeland Security intelligence chief Gen. Patrick M. Hughes, eight months prior to his appointment, at a March 2003 forum at Harvard; quoted in *Congressional Quarterly*, October 27, 2004

Source

It's hard to get politicians to consider policy problems whose consequences come after the next election. But while campaigns turn on this quarter's employment numbers or this year's deficit, ever-expanding entitlement programs will need reform soon to avert a fiscal crisis that remains at least a decade away. The Government Accountability Office covers "The Federal Government's Long Term Budget Imbalance" at www.gao.gov/special.pubs/longterm, with essays explaining the problem and simulation charts that are updated as new data become available. ■

Brickbats

Arizona's Paradise Valley Unified School District already tests high school athletes and club members for drugs. Now the school system says it wants to expand its testing program down to students in the seventh grade. The new program will be funded by the Maricopa County district attorney's office, which apparently has no better use for the $20,000 it will cost.

A Brazilian legislator wants to make it illegal for people to give their pets names commonly held by people. Reinaldo Santos e Silva says children may get depressed if they find out they share the same name as someone's pet.

When Ashley Owen White was stopped and accused of speeding, she was surprised to learn that the man who pulled her over wasn't a sheriff's deputy, a police officer, or a highway patrolman. He works for the federal Environmental Protection Agency. The *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* compiled a list of 34 classes of officers authorized to stop people for traffic offenses, and EPA officials aren't among them.

The Canadian government overpaid tens of thousands of dollars for golf balls and other items used to promote Canadian unity, according to a government investigation. They're not sure where all the items went, but the 1,200 golf balls were apparently sent to then–Prime Minister Jean Chretien.

An internal report found the Transportation Security Administration spent almost $500,000 on "unnecessarily expensive" awards, including a lifetime achievement honor for one employee of the two-year-old agency. The report also found that the TSA gives senior executives bonuses averaging $16,000, higher than the average bonus at any other government agency, and gives bonuses to a far higher percentage of its executives.

Kristine Johnson says two armed men burst into a convenience store in Schuyler, Nebraska, where she and other managers were having a meeting. The men forced them to the floor and took their wallets and purses. After police arrived, the two men returned and revealed that they too were police officers, and the robbery had been a drill set up by the store and the police department. In fact, one robber reportedly was the police chief. Johnson is suing for emotional distress.

Giovanna Pizzorno was fined $216.50 for showing friends around Rome. According to authorities, she was guiding tourists without a license. A special undercover police force issues around 1,000 such fines a year. A local newspaper advises natives that if tourists stop them asking for information, "just tell them 'I don't know.'"

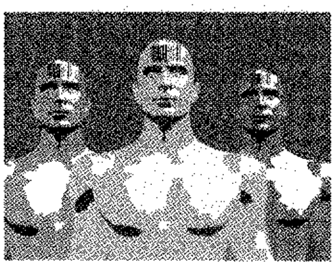
Six Sacramento firefighters have been fired and 13 others suspended or otherwise disciplined for using official vehicles to cruise for women. Several were caught taking fire engines to a "Porn Star Costume Ball," where an attendee accused one firefighter of sexual assault on an engine. Prosecutors determined the encounter was consensual, but city officials concede it was still a misuse of the engine.

Charles Oliver

If some countries get their way, the Koreans won't be able to carry out such experiments any more. In September 2004 President Bush strongly endorsed a United Nations resolution, proposed by Costa Rica, for a global treaty that would completely ban both reproductive cloning (that is, cloning to produce a baby) and therapeutic cloning.

The proposed ban was initially supported by 63 nations in the General Assembly, but failed in the face of opposition from the United Kingdom, Japan, South Korea, Australia, India, and Belgium. At the end of November, the Bush Administration could not muster enough votes to pass the resolution. Bernard Siegel, head of the Genetics Policy Institute, a pro-therapeutic cloning lobby, declared victory, saying, "This is a very good result."

The issue isn't dead, though. Italy plans to introduce a compromise resolution in February that would "prohibit any attempts at the creation of human life through cloning processes and any research intended to achieve that aim." For obvious reasons, research proponents want to change "human life" to "human being."

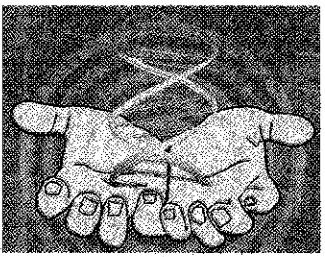


DNA testing victory

Songs of Innocence

Julian Sanchez

THE TEAM AT the Cardozo School of Law's Innocence Project, among other researchers, have used DNA evidence to exonerate 152 people convicted of crimes they didn't commit. Thousands more could still be behind bars, and some of them have just been granted new hope. The Justice for All Act of 2004, signed into law in October, grants federal convicts a right to have potentially exculpatory DNA evidence considered by courts.



Genetic evidence can be vital to establishing a suspect's innocence. Innocence Project co-founder Peter Neufeld, who calls the new law "a major step forward," says that in 25 percent of cases the FBI handles, DNA testing excludes the person who was the primary suspect based on non-DNA evidence. Yet states and courts have been highly inconsistent when it comes to whether convicts are entitled to have access to those potentially exculpatory tests.

Now states will receive $5 million to help cover the costs of testing as part of the Kirk Bloodsworth Program, named after the first death row inmate whose innocence was established by DNA evidence. State criminal forensics labs, plagued in recent years by charges of negligence and outright misconduct, will be required to undergo auditing every two years, and grants to fund DNA testing will be contingent upon preservation of DNA samples for post-conviction testing.

The act also provides $775 million to clear a massive backlog of 350,000 samples, which could help to identify guilty rapists and exculpate innocents accused of their crimes; provides money for better representation for indigent defendants in capital cases; and raises the cap on damage awards for the unjustly imprisoned from $5,000 to $50,000 in most cases and $100,000 in capital cases.

Boondoggles by the bay

San Francisco Unwired

Tim Cavanaugh

WHEN CELLULAR carriers attempted to outfit San Francisco

Balance Sheet

Jeff A. Taylor

New Coke
NAFTA brings Mexican Coke to the U.S., where it is stocked and sold at a premium by Latin grocers. Domestic bottlers grumble as their corn syrup concoction languishes, while the cane sugar–sweetened import flies off store shelves.

Cloud City
WiFi networks and appliances continue to disrupt old notions—and pricing—of human communication. Costly cell phone calls might soon be replaced by wireless voice calls made via the Internet.

Liquor Chaser
NASCAR lifts its ban on liquor sponsorship of its race cars. The line between liquor and beer had grown thin indeed with the move of brands like Smirnoff into the near-beer space—and door panels.

Open Sources
The folks behind Wikipedia, the collaborative online encyclopedia, branch out to news gathering. Wikinews lets amateur journalists report the stories of the day; it could develop into a real alt-news source, especially for developing countries.

Credibility Gap
A survey of 50,000 people in 60 countries by Gallup International finds that 63 percent think politicians are dishonest, compared to 43 percent for business leaders. Latin American politicians are the least favored, distrusted by 87 percent of those polled, while the Germans distrust everybody equally.

Bone Collectors
Purdue University researchers find that carbon nanotubes may help joint implants fuse with growing bone cells. Artificial joints that bond tightly with bone are likely to last longer and perform better for patients, doctors say.

Licensee Lock-Up
More than 60 ABC affiliates pre-empt *Saving Private Ryan* rather than risk fines from the Federal Communications Commission.

Mental Illness
Congress throws $20 million at a program the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons says will lead to public schools' conducting mandatory psychological testing of school kids without parental consent. Critics say the program is just a way for big drug companies to gin up demand for their psychiatric drugs.

Pittsburgh Stealers
The city of Pittsburgh considers taxing visiting pro athletes to raise cash to pay for public art projects. Art project money was used to pay for the bonds that built the stadiums the players play in, you see.

Big Flub
Boston's $14.6 billion Big Dig highway project is leaking. A state investigation reveals that millions of gallons of water are flowing into the tunnel system from more than 400 leaks. A subsequent *Boston Globe* report paints an even worse picture: "nearly 700 leaks in a single 1,000-foot section of an interstate 93 tunnel."

Bases Empty
The Toronto Blue Jays spend $25 million Canadian to buy SkyDome, which cost $580 million to build, much of it public funds. The Blue Jays' first baseman cost the team $23 million last year.

Password: Sucker
A California court finds that a man accused of planting a keystroke monitor on a computer did not violate federal wiretapping laws, since the device was installed between the keyboard and the computer, not on the network.

Data

Money Keeps Talking

Julian Sanchez

The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 was supposed to reduce the undemocratic, corrupting influence of money in politics, primarily by banning unlimited "soft money" contributions to political parties and regulating "electioneering communications," which used to be known colloquially as "political speech." So the elections of 2004 must have finally seen the moneychangers cast from the civic temple, right?

Not quite. Federal races last year saw an explosion in contributions to parties, to candidates, and to independent "527" groups that flooded the airwaves with ads more innovative and brazen than the relatively staid parties dared run.

Congress could, of course, admit that the law has failed and repeal the speech-squelching abomination. But since *McConnell v. FEC* made clear that the Supreme Court is more interested in applying First Amendment protections to *Hustler* than to political speech, it seems more likely that we'll see further efforts to, in the words of White House spokesman Scott McClellan, "shut down all of this activity by these shadowy groups."

Spending Type (in $ millions)

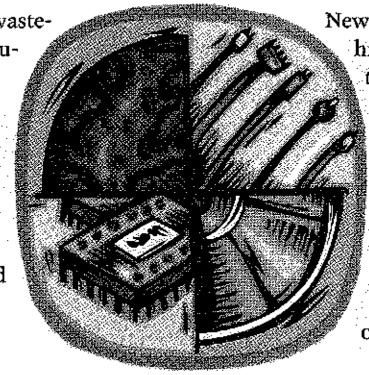
	2000	2004
Soft money	$ 498	NA
Individual contributions	1,460	2,500
PAC contributions	288	384
Candidate self-funding	205	144
Independent (interest group/527)	200	386
Public funds	238	207
Convention host committee	96	139
Other	57	102
Total	**$3,042**	**$3,862**

Source: Center for Responsive Politics

› with new antennas, the city government nixed the proposal out of unfounded concerns that the towers would give brain cancer to children. When dot-com mania gripped and enlivened the city, the local legislature fought the boom with on-the-fly zoning regulations and efforts to close the "loopholes" that allowed businesses and workers to set up shop in town.

But now the city's executive and legislative branches appear to have found a communications technology they can get behind: the kind that requires government fact-finding studies, has no visible means of paying for itself, and may necessitate the creation of a wasteful new bureaucracy.

Back in September, city supervisors Tom Ammiano and Chris Daly proposed a $300,000 study to find out whether the city should provide residents Internet, cable TV, and telephone services.



More recently, Mayor Gavin Newsom marked his first State of the City address by proposing a citywide WiFi network that would secure residents' inalienable right to download porn without paying for a Web connection.

"We will not stop until every San Franciscan has access to free wireless Internet service," the 37-year-old Democrat declared. Left unaddressed: With the rapid expansion of wireless broadband protocols—802.11(b) anyone? or (g), or (n)? and what of WiMax?—it's unclear how the city can put up a network that won't be obsolete in six months.

The supervisors' broadband/cable/phone proposal is a more straightforward boondoggle, involving massive new pipe laying during a sewer dig. Local experts and officials—among them Yale Braunstein, a professor of information management and systems at U.C.-Berkeley, and Sunil Daluvoy, vice president of the city's Telecommunications Commission—counter that there's plenty of cable already laid by private companies and now resting unused. Nor is the city exactly hard up for WiFi opportunities: Wireless networks have been installed at nearly every coffee shop, at no cost to the taxpayers and often free even for customers.

Backfiring racial preferences

Negative Action

Julian Sanchez

COULD THE elimination of affirmative action policies in American law schools result in *more* black lawyers being admitted to the bar—perhaps as many as 8.8 percent more? That's the counterintuitive conclusion of a new study by UCLA law professor Richard H. Sander.

The central argument is one that critics of affirmative action have long made: Students admitted to a school under looser standards are, almost by definition, less likely to be prepared to succeed once admitted, undermining whatever benefit the preference was meant to confer. Sander set out to test that notion using data on 27,000 students from the Law School Admission Council. He found that more than half of black students were in the bottom tenth of their classes by the end of their first years. Black students entering law school were 135 percent more likely than their white counterparts not to complete a degree, and among those who did graduate, failure rates on the bar exam after repeated attempts were six times higher.

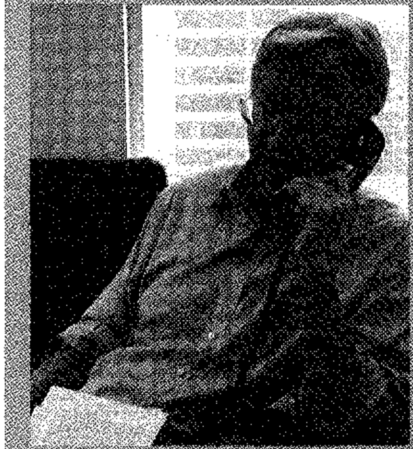
Sander projects that, while the elimination of preferences would reduce the number of black students matriculating at—and, to a lesser extent, graduating from—law schools, it would increase the total number passing the bar and going on to practice law. He suggests that most of the net loss in the larger pool would occur at the bottom end, because students denied spots at the most elite schools in the absence of preferences would fill spots in second-tier schools, pushing some students there into their next-choice schools, and so on. That shift to less-elite schools might, paradoxically, improve bar passage rates: Sander argues that students typically learn less (and do far less well) in classes that prove too difficult than they would otherwise be capable of.

Stanford Law Review, in which Sander's study appeared, will devote a future issue to critiques of his thesis. ▪

Soundbite

Torture and Defeat

Julian Sanchez



Seymour Hersh

Since breaking the My Lai massacre story in 1969, Seymour Hersh has reported on illegal CIA surveillance of Americans, U.S. involvement in Chile's 1973 coup, and the abuses at Abu Ghraib. In his eighth book, *Chain of Command* (HarperCollins), Hersh draws on his extensive contacts in the intelligence community to paint a disturbing picture of a war managed both immorally and ineptly. Assistant Editor Julian Sanchez spoke with Hersh in November.

Q: Explain "special access program."

A: "Special access program" is just a designator within the Pentagon, usually for programs used to build weapons secretly, like the stealth bomber. In this case it was a group set up, highly classified, with a number of military men operating not as Americans but under foreign passports and identities. They call it "sheepdip," when you put someone out as part of the private sector, not overtly tied to the American government. They were sent [around the world] in December of 2001 and January 2002 to find bad guys and grab them.

Unfortunately, whatever rules you use for determining who the bad guys are, especially operating in secret, aren't going to be perfect. So you'll find yourself grabbing someone, undressing them, filling them with barbiturates, throwing them on a plane in chains, and discovering that they have nothing to give you. It was this group detailed to Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib.

Q: You don't buy the "few bad apples" explanation.

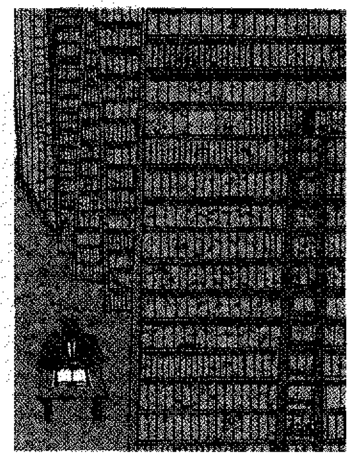
A: The abuses at Abu Ghraib were known about in the White House as early as late summer and fall of 2002. There were meetings about it which Condoleeza Rice and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld attended, and to the dismay of many of my contacts, it wasn't taken very seriously.

The idea of using sex, exposing men to shame as part of the breaking down process, photographing them naked in front of women or simulating homosexual acts—it's inconceivable that a bunch of kids from West Virginia knew the most sophisticated way to humiliate Arab men. And the purpose was not really to break down those people—often they had nothing to give—but to photograph them in a compromised position and say: "Go home, find the insurgency, join it, and report back to us or we'll show these to your relatives and people in your village."

Q: What's the best case scenario for Iraq now?

A: We lose. The faster we lose the better. There are still a lot of targets to bomb.

We're told we're fighting an insurgency there. "Insurgency"? No way. They're the people we went to war with: the Sunnis, the people we thought we beat. It's not an insurgent movement; it's the original war, now being fought on their terms.



Blogger death threats

Cyberfatwa

Charles Paul Freund

BLOGGING promises its more ambitious practitioners a chance to influence multitudes. For some there may even be a measure of renown. But as they begin to reach audiences comparable to those of traditional journalists, bloggers are also finding that they face some of traditional journalists' problems.

Repressive governments figured out fairly quickly that weblogs could be as threatening as the conventional press. In recent months, in addition to arresting several reporters, Iran's fundamentalist regime has blocked access to hundreds of dissident blogs and other political sites.

Now come threats of murder from equally repressive freelancers. An Iranian-Canadian blogger named Hossein Derakhshan wrote in November that the blog *Islamic Army* "has threaten [sic] a big list of Iranian blogger [sic] for their 'insults' to Allah, Prophet Mohammad and other Shia Imams." Derakhshan, who maintains blogs in English and Farsi, noted that *Islamic Army* has "picked particular posts from my Persian blog, in which they think I've insulted the God, and other sacred concepts of Islam and therefore, quoting from a Quranic verse, I deserve to be killed."

There are many names on the threat list, but Derakhshan is at the top. Although he writes from the seeming safety of Canada, incidents such as the brutal murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam by an Islamist extremist suggest his concern is warranted.

Still, Derakhshan isn't sure if the threat is serious. He even asked his readers, "What do you think?" Most of them suggested he go to the Mounties. ▪

That Old, Tired Balancing Act

Did the election kill objective campaign journalism?

Jay Rosen, chair of the Journalism Department at New York University, calls it "The Contraption." Thomas Lang, a correspondent for CampaignDesk.org, terms it the "automatic pilot approach to reporting." Hunter S. Thompson labels it "the Objective rules and dogma," adding that it's "one of the main reasons American politics has been allowed to be so corrupt for so long." More politely, *A Free and Responsible Press*, the influential 1947 report prepared by an all-star cast of 13 academics, referred to it as the means by which reporters pursue "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning."

By whatever name, the ethic by which the vast majority of daily newspapers and network news broadcasts have produced their work in the last half-century has come under a perhaps unprecedentedly heavy barrage of questioning by self-doubting journalists in the wake of George Bush's re-election. From *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, who awoke November 3 feeling "deeply troubled" about his countrymen, to *Los Angeles Times* photographer Luis Sinco, who abruptly left Iraq because of the election's "clear-cut signal" that "we as journalists are not changing anybody's mind about this conflict," reporters seemed to take the results as a personal repudiation, requiring immediate reassessment.

A few of the many examples:

October 24: "We journalists, we are at sea," former *New York Times* reporter Doug McGill writes on mcgillreport.org, "because our Grand Old Professional Code is falling to pieces."

October 30: "There's a growing sense that this race may involve tectonic shifts in the landscape of political journalism," predicts *Los Angeles Times* media columnist Tim Rutten.

November 12: "We are moving away from a model of objective reporting," Alex Jones, director of Harvard's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, warns in a speech. "We are moving from partisanship to something much worse." The same day, *National Journal* columnist William Powers tells *The Hartford Courant*, "There is so much change happening, and everyone feels a little lost and disoriented."

Jay Rosen crystallized the debate on November 3 with the provocative suggestion that some media outlets currently in the Objective camp might switch to a self-consciously Oppositional stance, treating the Bush administration more like Rush Limbaugh treats Hillary Clinton.

"The contraption [mainstream journalism] has for explaining, situating and defending itself has in 2004 finally broken down, given out after 40 years of heavy, reliable use," Rosen wrote on his weblog, at pressthink.org. "I believe Big Journalism cannot respond as it would in previous years: with bland vows to cover the Administration fairly and a firm intention to make no changes whatsoever in its basic approach to politics and news. The situation is too unstable, the world is changing too rapidly, and political journalism has been pretending for too long that an old operating system will last forever."

Is a media revolution really in the air? If you ask the people who, unlike everyone quoted above, are downright cheerful about Bush's victory and Fox's dominance of the cable news ratings, the answer is a robust "Hell, yes!" On one side, new media with new styles are booming; on the other, credibility crises have kneecapped such previously authoritative institutions as CBS News, *The New York Times*, and the BBC.

Former Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan encapsulated that spirit in a November 4 *Wall Street Journal* column: "Every time the big networks and big broadsheet national newspapers tried to pull off a bit of pro-liberal mischief—CBS and the fabricated Bush National Guard documents, the *New York Times* and bombgate, CBS's *60 Minutes* attempting to coordinate the breaking of bombgate on the Sunday before the election—the yeomen of the blogosphere and AM radio and the Internet took them down."

But there are three good reasons to be skeptical that November 3 sounded the death knell for old-style political journalism. First, every presidential election since 1960, if not earlier, has been followed by increasingly louder whither-journalism sessions. It was only four years ago that the major networks and newspapers were vowing never again to get bamboozled by Election Day exit polls. Needless to say, such fretting does not always produce reforms.

Second, while the New Media revolution has unleashed a boom in publishing outlets and has converted news consumers into news producers, it has yet to create a style of reporting dominant enough to replace that which it so successfully criticizes.

Niche publishing has nibbled off chunks of the mainstream media's audience: Since 1996 the percentage of consumers who use newspapers as their primary source of campaign news has dropped from 60 to 46, while the percentage who mainly use the Internet has grown from 3 to 21, according to an October survey by the Pew Research Center. But newspaper publishing and television news are still two of the most lucrative business models in the country.

Which leads to the most important reason for skepticism: inertia. For the last half-century, despite the growth and success of niche publishing, professional journalism has had one dominant paradigm, one that has allowed its owners to get spectacularly rich and its workers to make out all right as well. No matter how rattled reporters seemed in November, change from within will come incrementally, not instantly. Rather than tear up the old reporting model, news outlets are gingerly experimenting with some of the New Media's more successful strategies: publishing weblogs, introducing greater transparency, encouraging a more subjective writing style.

"I had a publisher here once who said that you hunt where the ducks are flying," says John Robinson, editor of the 100,000-circulation *News & Record* of Greensboro, North Carolina. "And the ducks seem to be flying online."

In August 2004, Robinson started a weblog (blog.news-record.com/jrblog) where he engages readers in a more direct and interactive way than in his existing weekly column. *The News & Record* is also trying to become a hub for more opinionated local bloggers, a strategy that has been adopted as well by newspapers from California to New Jersey.

But that doesn't necessarily foreshadow subjective campaign coverage, or a policy of asking reporters to 'fess up their biases. "I'm not to that point yet," Robinson says. "I still believe that newspapers and the traditional media can present the news objectively, and that there's a marketplace for the objective presentation of news."

As the success of Fox News, political talk radio, partisan book publishing, and blogging has shown, there's a healthy marketplace for nonobjective presentation as well. So far, though, subjectivity has flourished only in markets that are competitive, such as New York newspapers or cable news.

With entry costs plummeting for all forms of media—more than 50 daily newspapers have been launched in the U.S. this young century—competition looks set to flourish even in currently uncompetitive markets. But as long as Objective publishing remains profitable, the two sides of the media divide are likely to dig deeper trenches. Anxious professionals on one side will continue to take the Contraption to the bank, while the barbarian army outside grows in numbers and weapons.

Jay Rosen and others are predicting that some exasperated member of the Old Guard will switch sides before 2008 and come out politically—if it's not too late to recapture their eroding audience. When and if that day comes, a generation of media critics will have to grapple with a new problem: What if the liberal media finally decide to become the liberal media?

"Some day," Rosen wrote in November, "a clever historian is going to explain how fear of being politicized (legitimate) convinced American journalists that the press could have—and should have—no politics at all. (Not legitimate.) It has been one devastating illusion." ◼

Associate Editor Matt Welch (mwelch@reason.com) is a columnist for Canada's National Post. His work is archived at mattwelch.com, where he also blogs.

The "Values" Panic

The right has no monopoly on morals—or on moral bullying.

One of the big stories to emerge from the election was the values vote. In a CNN exit poll, 22 percent of the voters said "moral values" was the most important issue—ahead of both terrorism and Iraq—and 80 percent of these values-oriented voters backed George W. Bush.

Both right and left jumped on this news, the former to proclaim that Bush now had a mandate to, as virtue czar William Bennett put it, "promote a more decent society, through both politics and law"; the latter to paint Bush voters as hordes of Bible-thumping rednecks out to force their bigoted "values" down our throats.

Then came the revisionist view. The evangelicals' share of total voter turnout did not increase from 2000, and the presence of anti-same-sex-marriage amendments on the ballots in 11 states did not seem to give Bush much of a boost at the polls. Some suggested that "moral values" could have meant a lot of different things to respondents; novelist/blogger Roger Simon, a pro-gay marriage Bush supporter, noted that he might well have picked that item on the questionnaire because he views the war on Islamofascist terror as the predominant moral issue of our time.

The new conventional wisdom seems to hold, despite some attempts to revise the revisionism. On November 23 in *National Review Online*, Maggie Gallagher cited a Pew Research Center poll showing that most of the voters who picked moral values as their chief concern did indeed define "values" in terms of social or religious conservatism: 44 percent as specific social issues such as abortion, gay marriage, or stem-cell research; 18 percent as issues related to religion; and 17 percent as "family values" or "right and wrong" in general. (To 23 percent, "moral values" meant the candidate's personal integrity.)

The Pew poll also asked some respondents an open-ended question about their top priority in the election, rather than have them pick one from a list. Among Bush voters, 17 percent named "moral values" in general, 6 percent pointed to social issues such as abortion or gay marriage, and 4 percent mentioned the candidate's own morals. Since the Pew report grouped these three items under "moral values," adding up to 27 percent of the total, Gallagher asserts that "values voters" were Bush's key constituency, outnumbering the 17 percent whose main concern was terrorism. Yet add Iraq—an issue that most Bush supporters probably see as part of the war on terrorism—and the "national security" vote increases to 28 percent of Bush's total base.

Gallagher concludes that "without the values voters, even a wartime GOP president doesn't have a prayer." But clearly a GOP president needs a lot more than that. Bush would not have prevailed without the backing of some 42 percent of voters who rarely or never go to church, 40 percent of those who favor civil unions or marriage for gays, and a third of those who support legal abortion in all or most circumstances.

If the Republicans started aggressively trying to overturn *Roe v. Wade* or to outlaw all legal protections for same-sex couples, it would likely alienate many moderates—particularly if national security became a less prominent issue, or a less advantageous one for the GOP. Meanwhile, a pro-choice, pro-gay rights Republican in the Arnold Schwarzenegger mold would lose some "values voters" who would either switch to a more conservative third-party candidate or stay home but would likely pick up a lot of votes from the more libertarian independents uneasy with the influence of the religious right.

Are the "values voters" as scary as they're made out to be? There is no question that much of their agenda is repressive and troubling, at least to a socially liberal secularist such as myself. Yet misconceptions about them and their political role abound as well, and these myths are rarely challenged in the mainstream media. Here are a few of them:

• Traditionalist voters are radicals *who want to overturn the American traditions of personal liberty and separation of church and state.* In many ways, the cultural conservatives want to do no more than roll back the clock to a fairly recent American past (on such issues as abortion or prayer in public schools) or to stop impending change (on same-sex marriage).

For better or worse, the truth is that for most of U.S. history American democracy coexisted with a fairly high level of public entanglement with religion at the state level as well as regulation of morality. True, many opponents of abortion and especially of gay marriage want to pursue their agenda on a federal level, through the radical step of a constitutional amendment. But even here, the radical change began with federal courts taking major areas of public policy away from state legislatures.

It is also worth noting that while the moralistic zealots of the American "red states" are often contrasted with Europe's tolerant secularists, the lifting of traditional legal strictures on personal conduct in America has in some ways gone much further than in Europe. In most European countries, abortion is severely restricted after the first trimester, and even women having early abortions are required to state their reasons for the procedure (which can include mental distress or economic hardship); in many places, other restrictions apply as well. The American rights-based approach is obviously more respectful of individual choices, but it is also more likely to generate intense social and political conflict by pitting two sets of absolute rights against each other.

• The traditionalists are concerned *with controlling other people's behavior, not with living their own lives free from government intervention.* Culturally conservative parents are forced to pay taxes to subsidize government-mandated schools that largely teach socially liberal attitudes and that often explicitly criticize "authoritarian" parental values.

What's more, an absolutist interpretation of the "establishment of religion" clause has led to an aggressive campaign to purge public spaces of all traces of even the most voluntary religious expression, from Christmas decorations at a firehouse to a reference to God in a student's high school graduation speech, often leading traditionalists to feel their beliefs are the target of special hostility and exclusion.

Greed is to the moralists of the left what sex is to the moralists of the right.

• The red-state "values voters" are *different from other political groups in that they seek to coercively impose their narrow, spiritually rather than rationally based, moral values on the rest of society.* One unwitting challenge to this bit of conventional wisdom comes from liberal Democrats when they indignantly point out that they have moral values too: protection of the environment, aid to the poor, and so on. Democrats, of course, would counter that the "moral" policies they advocate reflect a rational idea of the common welfare. Yet much of the left-of-center political agenda rests on moral judgments that go far beyond the basic postulates of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and equality before the law.

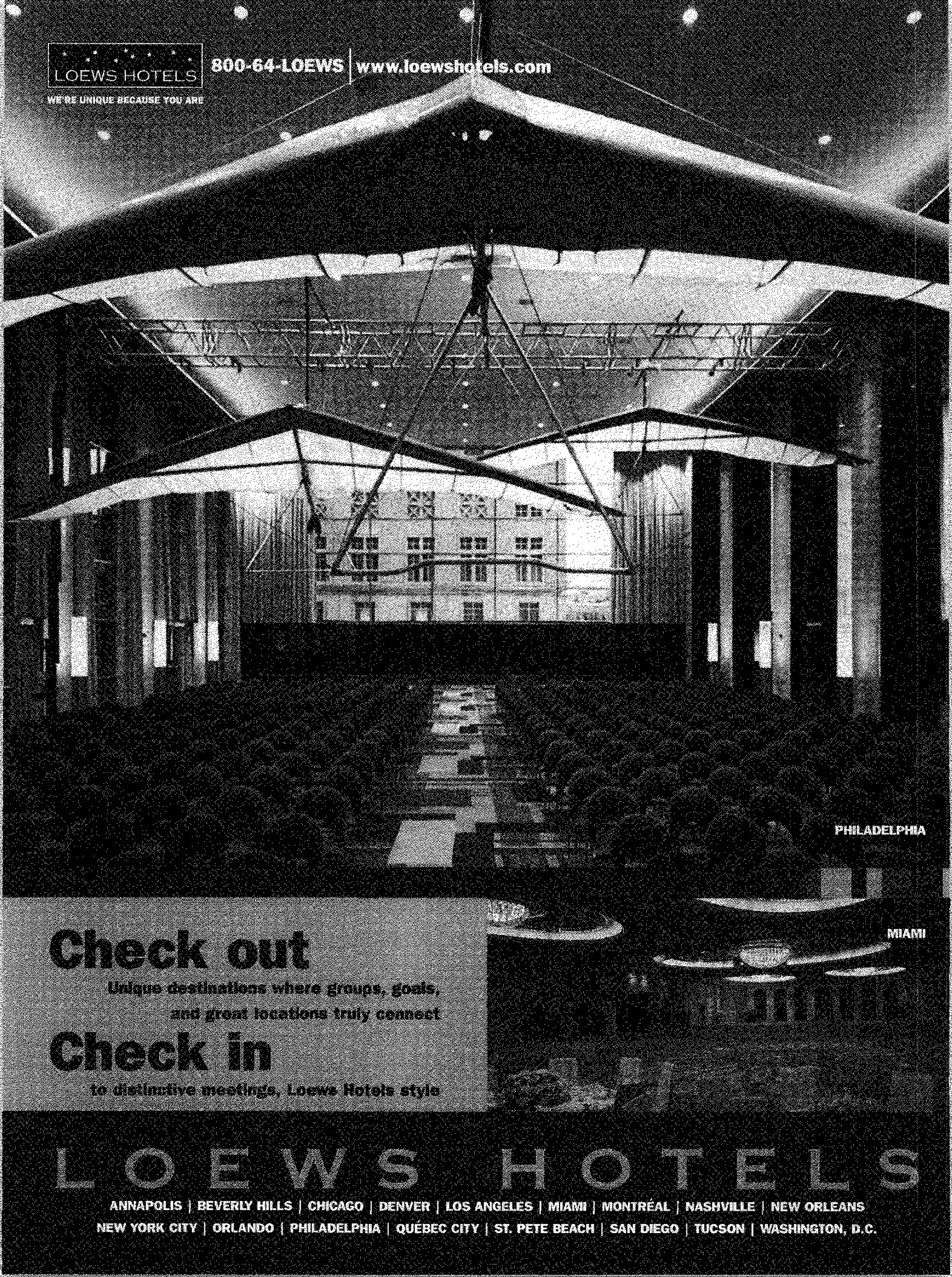
These moral judgments hold, for example, that inequality of income, rather than poverty as such, is a bad thing; that a racially and ethnically diverse student body justifies disparate standards in college admissions; and that wilderness areas should be preserved for their own sake regardless of practical or aesthetic value.

It's ironic that some of the same people who deride the narrow moralism of the "values voters"—Jane Smiley in her now-infamous rant in *Slate*, for instance—also deplore the "greed" driving Bush's re-election. Greed is to the moralists of the left what sex is to the moralists of the right.

It is worth noting that more conventional sexual moralism of the coercive variety has come from the left—most notably the crusade against sexual harassment in the 1990s. As far as I know, no evangelical Christian group has yet succeeded in getting a judge to enjoin a private employer to ban all sexually themed reading materials and images from the workplace. Feminist attorneys have.

It's quite true that neither the "red" nor the "blue" states have a monopoly on moral values. By the same token, neither side has a monopoly on moral bullying. ∎

Contributing Editor Cathy Young (CathyYoung1@cs.com) is a columnist for The Boston Globe.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Live Free and Die of Boredom

Is "economic freedom" just another word for nothing left to do?

THE VENERABLE MANHATTAN-based *Forbes* and the venerable San Francisco–based Pacific Research Institute have drummed up a "U.S. Economic Freedom Index," which rates the states according to dozens of variables, including taxation, legal exposure, and environmental regulations. The not-so-surprising outcome: New York is the least free state, and Kansas is top of the heap, ostensibly the best place to conduct business in this sweet land of liberty.

An invitation to an event promoting the index asked, "If you had to relocate your headquarters or start a new office, would you choose New York? Or would you consider Kansas?" Let me play Red State Socrates and respond: If you had to choose somewhere to live, would you really move to Jayhawk country if you could figure out any way, short of acting in porn, to stay in New York?

It's not a hypothetical concern for me. (Living in middle America, not the porn job.) Until a recent move to the Washington, D.C., area, I spent the last eight years where the land is plentiful, the houses cheap, and the taxes low—in other words, in a zone of relative economic freedom. From 1996 to 1998, I lived in Huntsville, Texas, a prison-and-college town (ain't they all) with a total population of about 30,000; from 1998 until last summer, I lived in small-town Ohio. My takeaway: Fewer tax and regulatory hassles and, most important, a tremendously lower cost of living are, in the end, probably not that important to people.

Living in Huntsville in particular taught me that the cost of living is far less important than the demand for living. In the mid-'90s, I looked at five-bedroom houses there priced at $100,000 that still weren't selling. If you can't move that much house at that low a price, there just isn't a lot of living going on. (As if to underscore the point, Huntsville is the site of the Lone Star State's death chamber.) Truth be told, there just wasn't that much to do, and not simply for the prisoners. Everything was a long drive away, the population was sparse, and so on. That's one reason it was cheap to live there. Much of the time, economic freedom's just another word for nothing else to do.

The simple fact is that many people—arguably most people, if population patterns are any indication—are ready, willing, and able to pay a steep premium to live in more densely populated places where things inevitably cost more money and take more time, where there are more regulations, higher taxes, bigger annoyances, you name it.

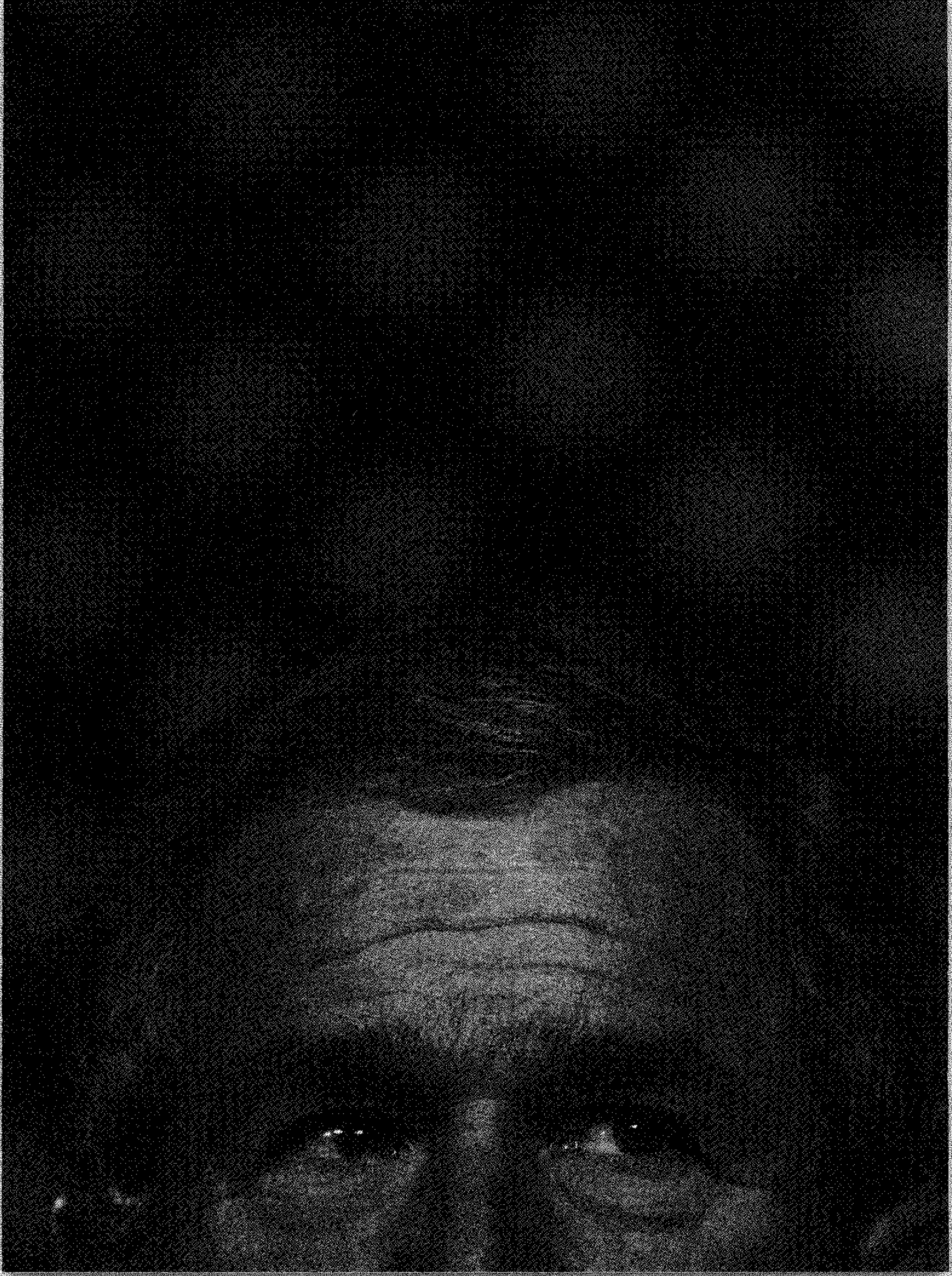
It's useful to think of any given area as making a deal with people who might live there: We'll throw off this much employment opportunity, this many diversions, this much action, at a given price—a figure that includes not only money but all the sorts of petty tyrannies that zoning and planning boards routinely generate. There are times and places where that deal isn't considered worth it. Witness the relative emptying of many American cities during the '60s, '70s, and '80s and the concurrent shift to the Sunbelt.

But even then, most people and businesses didn't hightail it to Kansas. Instead, they camped out near the old cities, sucking as much warmth out of the dying beasts as possible. Or they quickly turned the new low-cost utopias into versions of what they left behind. That's why Phoenix is the new Los Angeles, not the new Salina.

"Economic freedom"—or at least the range represented between Kansas and New York—is pretty far down the list of what drives decisions about location, whether for businesses or individuals. Yes, regulations are always and everywhere too high. New York would be better off if Albany's overlords taxed and spent less. Yet, most of us choose to live under the yoke of economic oppression. That's especially true in major cities, which typically have Third World–style kleptocracies in place to rip off the very people who keep the places flush in cash, commerce, and coolness.

But until I get an invite to the grand opening of the new Manhattan, Kansas, headquarters of *Forbes* and the Pacific Research Institute, I won't be thinking too much about their economic freedom index.

Nick Gillespie (gillespie@reason.com) is **reason***'s editor in chief.*



Four More Years!?!?!

7 high hopes and 7 big fears for Bush's second term

As Maureen McGovern memorably sang after another Most Important Presidential Election Of Our Lifetime, "There's got to be a morning after." And just like in 1972, Democrats woke up humiliated, Republicans rose jubilant, and advocates of limited government cast their eyes anxiously at a secretive second-term White House with a spotty track record on liberty.

Much has changed for the better these last 32 years, but the Morning After 2004 was still filled with unanswered questions about the legacy George Bush will leave. **reason** asked a variety of pundits, pols, and profs to tell us their biggest hopes and fears for the next four years. Their answers, given in late November, follow.

I Hope...We'll See Democracy in the Middle East

Michael Young

It's probably a relief that the Iraqis, or most Iraqis, will be around in the months ahead to remind the second Bush administration of its democratization promises. Although the United States has focused on creating an auspicious climate for Iraqi elections at the start of 2005, creating an open society in Iraq has been decidedly lower on the list of American priorities since security in the country has gone south.

Will Bush in his second term stiffen his back and again insist on making Iraqi democracy (assuming that phantom comes alive) a linchpin for regional pluralism, helping undermine the Islamist militancy that caused 9/11? One must hope so, since otherwise the Iraqi adventure will have been a spectacular waste of life. Echoes of Arab democracy can still be heard in Washington, even if the advent of Condoleezza Rice as secretary of state promises the inert realism that allowed so many Arab autocrats to prosper—unless Bush orders the pliable doctor (who would rather call a duck a rhino than jeopardize her relationship with the president) to place democracy at the top of her lexicon.

Why should Iraqi democracy matter? Because, as Bush has haltingly recognized, liberty is not solely an American or Western concept; because in the Arab context it will mean more security for the U.S.; and because many Americans and many more Iraqis have already died in an endeavor that can yet be salvaged, unless the conviction of defeat grabs us by the throat first.

Contributing Editor Michael Young (mdy100@hotmail.com) is opinion editor of Lebanon's Daily Star newspaper, which is printed and distributed throughout the Middle East.

I Fear...We'll See Empire in the Middle East

Ron Paul

Without any change in the principles that currently guide United States foreign policy, the shuffling of personnel from this post to that means little. As long as Congress and the American people continue to allow the president to ignore the constitutional requirement that Congress declare war, further military interventionism is inevitable. The only questions are how much further we can stretch our military without a draft, and how long before we go broke.

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Ron Paul: Without a reorientation of our foreign policy toward that envisioned by our Founding Fathers, the only thing that will end the current policies of preemption, foreign aid, and interventionism will be national bankruptcy.

Without a reorientation of our foreign policy toward that envisioned by our Founding Fathers, the only thing that will end the current policies of preemption, foreign aid, and interventionism will be national bankruptcy. We cannot afford to maintain an empire, and all empires eventually fall.

Ron Paul (ronpaul.org) is a Republican representing the 14th congressional district of Texas.

I Hope...the Constitution Will Make a Comeback

Jacob Levy

Once appointed, federal judges aren't part of an administration, so they're not vulnerable to an administration's particular dysfunctions. Bush's court appointees won't be prone to getting fired for telling the administration things it doesn't want to hear, or for sticking to a principle rather than bending with Karl Rove's interpretation of the political winds. We have more reason to expect competent and successful change that accords with stated intentions in jurisprudence than in ordinary policy.

Those stated intentions aren't unambiguously welcome, of course. I neither want to see the 11th Amendment expanded further nor *Lawrence v. Texas* overturned. But there is a silver lining in the real chance that the Commerce Clause/10th Amendment revolution will continue and finally come to its overdue fruition. One to four Bush Supreme Court nominees could lead to some genuine supervision over whether Congress is usurping responsibilities of the states and exceeding the bounds of its Commerce Clause power.

This will not lead to the overthrow of the New Deal or of the intrusive federal state; the Supreme Court does not willingly move so far ahead of the political culture. But it could reinvigorate a public, political, and constitutional discourse around the idea that Congress is not a plenary legislature, and that it needs to exercise its authority within constitutional bounds.

Jacob Levy is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago and author of The Multiculturalism of Fear (Oxford University Press).

I Fear...the Constitution Will Be Shredded

Nadine Strossen

My biggest worry is that fundamental constitutional freedoms will be eviscerated, either directly through constitutional amendments or indirectly through legislation that strips federal courts of the power to enforce such freedoms. My biggest hope is that we will continue to see bipartisan resistance to provisions in the PATRIOT Act and other post-9/11 measures that unjustifiably sacrifice civil liberties without adequate countervailing national security gains. I am optimistic that libertarians, conservatives, and liberals will continue to work together effectively to resist the steady stream of proposals to expand unwarranted government power even further; and that we'll enact reform measures, such as the Safety and Freedom Ensured Act, to bring the PATRIOT Act into line with constitutional checks and balances.

Nadine Strossen is president of the American Civil Liberties Union (aclu.org) and a professor at New York Law School.

I Hope...Regulations Will Be Restrained

Virginia Postrel

New regulations come from two places: new legislation, often in response to some sort of momentary panic (think Sarbanes-Oxley, the extraordinarily costly response to turn-of-the-century corporate scandals), and continuous bureaucratic rule making. In its first term, the Bush

Daniel Drezner: The administration should be praised, in true classical liberal fashion, for what it has not done. The Bush team has not taken steps to block offshore outsourcing, despite intense bipartisan pressure.

administration exercised unusual restraint in producing new regulations.

"Since the younger Bush took office, federal agencies have begun roughly one-quarter fewer rules than Clinton and 13 percent fewer than Bush's father during comparable periods," *The Washington Post* reported in mid-August. Around the same time, *The New York Times* ran a remarkable chart showing that the Bush administration had imposed new regulations costing an average of $1.6 billion annually, compared to $6.2 billion for the Clinton administration, $8.5 billion for Bush 41, and $8.1 billion for the last two years of the Reagan administration.

The newspapers framed their reports as criticisms. Journalists and legislators tend to treat regulation as feel-good symbolism, a cheap way to demonstrate right-thinking attitudes. Its costs, in both out-of-pocket expense and foregone benefits (including never-explored innovations), get far less scrutiny than the taxes and spending that constitute the usual view of "economic policy."

Less new regulation isn't deregulation, but the Bush administration's low-profile focus on regulatory costs represents a real challenge to bureaucracy as usual. My hope for a second term is to see this approach continue—and to push back against the current drive for tighter Food and Drug Administration restrictions. My fear is of new legislative panics, leading to new regulatory laws, particularly in biomedicine.

Virginia Postrel (dynamist.com) is the author of The Substance of Style, recently published in paperback by Perennial, and The Future and Its Enemies (Free Press).

I Fear...Spending Won't Be Restrained

John Berthoud

By the time the books are closed on the current fiscal year, federal spending will have risen by roughly 20 percent in real terms since the last budget signed into law by Bill Clinton. This four-year spending explosion has not been limited to the areas of defense and homeland security. Spending at the Department of Agriculture will have risen in real terms by an estimated 19 percent, at the Department of Labor by 40 percent, and at the Department of Education by 74 percent.

The entire eight years of the Bush administration are thus unlikely ever to be seen as a landmark in the fight for smaller government. At best, a concerted effort at spending restraint in the second term will make a difference between a so-so record and a historically disastrous one.

The Bush administration has spent no political capital in the fight against big government in the first term. Instead, it has opted to focus on spin (talking about how Washington has ratcheted down spending growth to 1 percent—true only if you exclude 82 percent of the budget). Bush may have no greater desire to use political capital on this important fight in a second term. But continuing to turn a blind eye to congressional spending will jeopardize the president's tax agenda. Given that taxes were one area of substantial domestic policy differentiation between Republicans and Democrats in 2004, if that distinction evaporates much of the Republican voting base may find better things to do when the next election rolls around.

John Berthoud is president of the National Taxpayers Union (www.ntu.org).

I Hope...We'll Keep Taxes Down by Eliminating Corporate Welfare and Entitlements for the Rich

Tyler Cowen

Commentators frequently refer to the Bush "tax cuts," but this is a misnomer. Government spending has risen sharply, so our taxes are going up in the future, especially once you consider the implicit liabilities from Social Secu-

Grover Norquist: The one mistake that could cripple a second Bush term is to accept the campaign promise to "cut the deficit in half in four years" as a central goal of the administration. The deficit is an uninteresting and unimportant number.

rity and Medicare. Bush has given us a "tax shift," combined with a long-run net tax increase. We simply haven't yet been told which taxes are going up and when.

To keep American taxes at reasonable levels I would eliminate all farm subsidies, tariffs, quotas, and price supports, along with other forms of corporate welfare. More important, I would repeal the Medicare prescription drug bill, slowly raise the retirement age for Social Security and Medicare, and introduce means testing for benefits.

Tyler Cowen (www.gmu.edu/jbc/Tyler) is an economics professor at George Mason University, director of the James Buchanan Center and the Mercatus Center, and author of the forthcoming Markets and Cultural Voices (University of Michigan Press).

I Fear...Deficit Worries Will Bring Tax Increases

Grover Norquist

THE ONE MISTAKE that could cripple a second Bush term is to accept the campaign promise to "cut the deficit in half in four years" as a central goal of the administration. The deficit is an uninteresting and unimportant number that is the difference between two very important numbers: total federal government spending, and total federal taxes.

The true cost of government—and the correct target—is total federal spending as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product. To reduce government spending as a percentage of the economy, Republicans should first cut taxes to increase economic growth and then restrain the growth of federal spending below the growth of the economy. Democrats cannot compete on a political field of battle dominated by pro-growth tax cuts and spending restraint; they are against both and have no alternatives.

But if the ghost of Dick Darman wafts through the White House and convinces the administration to focus on the deficit, then tax cuts are a problem, not half the solution, and Democrats have an equally valid solution: raise taxes. A fixation on the federal deficit—rather than spending as a percentage of the economy—destroyed the presidency of the first Bush. I fear it could happen again.

Grover Norquist is president of Americans for Tax Reform (atr.org).

I Hope...We'll Hear More About Ownership

Charles Murray

EVEN THOUGH GEORGE Bush has no commitment to limited government, the right rhetoric can have a power of its own. The task is to come up with a proposition that a large proportion of the electorate will hear and instinctively say, "Damn right." For years, libertarians haven't had one. We have tried to reinfuse words like freedom and rights with the power they once had, but they have become too degraded by overuse. Ownership may still have that power. To say that the money we spend on Social Security is for our own retirement and that we ought to have ownership over it sounds to me like the Damn Right proposition that could catalyze a political majority.

Charles Murray is W.H. Brady Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and author of Human Accomplishment (HarperCollins).

I Fear...We'll Hear More About God

Heather MacDonald

"TALK ABOUT YOUR faith!" That is the punditocracy's resounding consensus following the Kerry defeat. It will usher in a new level of political hypocrisy.

Even before the election, Kerry was trying desperately to retool himself according to the emerging wisdom. It was a losing battle. He could never match Bush's easy recitals of faith. "My faith plays a big part in my life," Bush said in the third debate. "I pray a lot. And I do. And my faith is a very, it's very personal. I pray for strength. I pray for wisdom. I pray

Bob Barr: The first term of George W. Bush was the most anti-privacy administration in history. Attorney General–designate Alberto Gonzales appears to support virtually unlimited executive branch power to gather evidence on the citizenry.

for our troops in harm's way. I pray for my family. I pray for my little girls."

Remember those words; they are the future.

But I am puzzled by what exactly we learn from such recitals. Several hypotheses present themselves:

1. When a candidate parades his faith, he reassures voters that he is a good, moral person who will not do bad things. This, however, is a dubious assumption in light of history and experience.

2. It guarantees that the candidate will always make the right choices because God will direct him. But what if both candidates are praying for guidance? Who will trump whom?

Unlike a policy proposal, a profession of faith is a conversation stopper. It can't be challenged. And nothing follows from it. Moliere might have believed that the public display of piety is ground for a sound thrashing, but such cynicism is not in America's blood, at least not now. We are bound to assume that the self-confessed believer is utterly sincere.

My only hope for ending the upcoming rush to religious declaration is a candidate who announces that his is the one true faith, to which unbelievers must convert or face damnation—a venerable faith position with a much longer pedigree than our current bland tolerance. It will be a nice test of the country's appetite for religious fervor.

Heather MacDonald is a fellow at the Manhattan Institute and author of Are Cops Racist? (Ivan R. Dee)

I Hope...Bush Will Learn the Right Lessons From Alaska

Vernon Smith

One of the last actions of the Clinton administration was to prohibit oil and gas exploration in the Alaska National Wildlife Reserve (ANWR). Since directional and other new drilling technologies enable sensitive areas to be developed without environmental damage, the main damage here was to the full development of U.S. energy potential. With more Republican seats in Congress, Bush's support of ANWR development legislation is likely to pass.

Administration action on an Alaskan gas pipeline is also likely. I fear, however, industry pressure for federal subsidies or guarantees of the pipeline, which should not be granted. If industry truly sees the pipeline investment risk as too high, that means it's too soon—energy prices are not high enough—to justify the investment.

These developments are also likely to lower energy costs within Alaska enough to enable major new mining and industrial developments to occur. Since the Alaska Permanent Fund has already set the precedent that public assets belong to the citizens and not just the government, there is the prospect that existing and future Alaskan citizens will benefit directly. May the lower 48 and the rest of the world follow this important precedent.

Vernon Smith is an economics professor at George Mason University, author of Bargaining and Market Behavior (Cambridge University Press), and 2002 winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences.

I Fear...Bush Will Learn the Wrong Lessons From the Election

Glenn Reynolds

"Great election, kid. Don't get cocky." That could be Han Solo's advice to President Bush. But it's not the advice he's getting from either the left or the right. Eager to explain away Kerry's defeat in a way that lets them feel morally superior, many on the left are saying that it was all about "moral values," particularly gay rights and abortion. Eager to expand their power in the second term, advocates for the Christian Right have been swift to agree.

Listening to them would be a big mistake for Bush. There's no question that incidents like the Janet Jackson breast episode have angered a lot of Americans who feel that the entertainment industry doesn't respect their values. And gay marriage polls badly even in the bluest of blue states. But there's little reason to believe Americans eagerly cast their votes in November in the hope that busybodies would finally start telling them what to do.

In their book *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*, John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge explain how the Republican coalition could go wrong: "Too Southern, too greedy, and too contradictory." Taking the advice of advocacy groups left and right is likely to send the Bush administration in that direction. Is Karl Rove smart enough to realize that?

Glenn Reynolds, a law professor at the University of Tennessee, runs the popular weblog InstaPundit.com.

I Hope...Trade Will Be Freer

Daniel Drezner

LET'S BE BLUNT: The steel tariffs were an abomination. The increase in farm subsidies was a travesty. In Bush's first term, his administration's trade policy was hardly a paragon of virtue. But it was good enough for stalwart free trader (and Democrat) Jagdish Bhagwati to admit during an election year that between Bush and Kerry, the Republican had the more responsible trade policy.

The record reflects Bhagwati's assessment. The administration jump-started the Doha round of World Trade Organization talks in the wake of the September 11 attacks. After the debacle at Cancun, when a clash between the developing and developed world dashed any hope of progress, it was U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick who got the process back on track. And the only reason there is a WTO round at all is that President Bush fought for and (barely) won trade promotion authority, something Bill Clinton was never able to do. I haven't even mentioned the spurt of bilateral and regional free trade agreements, including pacts with Australia and Central America.

The administration should also be praised, in true classical liberal fashion, for what it has not done. The Bush team has not taken steps to block offshore outsourcing, despite intense bipartisan pressure to halt the newest forms of trade.

And finally, remember those steel tariffs? They're gone now.

Daniel Drezner (danieldrezner.com) is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago and the author of The Sanctions Paradox (Cambridge University Press).

I Fear...Society Will Be Less Free

Bob Barr

THE LAST FOUR years have not been kind to privacy in America. In fact, the first administration of George W. Bush was the most anti-privacy administration in history. While the post-9/11 fight against terrorists has been the excuse given for virtually all of the anti-privacy measures instituted since that fateful day, many of the powers granted to or assumed by the administration have less to do with a clear-cut, narrowly crafted "war on terrorism" than with a general desire to gather as much information on the American citizenry as possible, as easily as possible.

The next four years are likely to be even worse. The newly re-elected president is certain to use the "political capital" of which he boasts to reauthorize all those provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act that are scheduled to sunset in 2005 and to dramatically expand the law's scope. Even more than outgoing Attorney General John Ashcroft, Attorney General-designate Alberto Gonzales appears to support virtually unlimited executive branch power to gather evidence on the citizenry.

Bob Barr (bobbarr.org), a former Republican congressman from Georgia, is the American Conservative Union's 21st Century Liberties Chair for Freedom and Privacy.

THE GOOD NEWS ABOUT PAIN TREATMENT:

The Drug Enforcement Administration recently posted new guidelines on the DEA website to stop the unjustified harassment and prosecution of pain doctors.

THE BAD NEWS ABOUT PAIN TREATMENT:

Two months later the DEA deleted the guidelines, citing unspecified "misstatements."

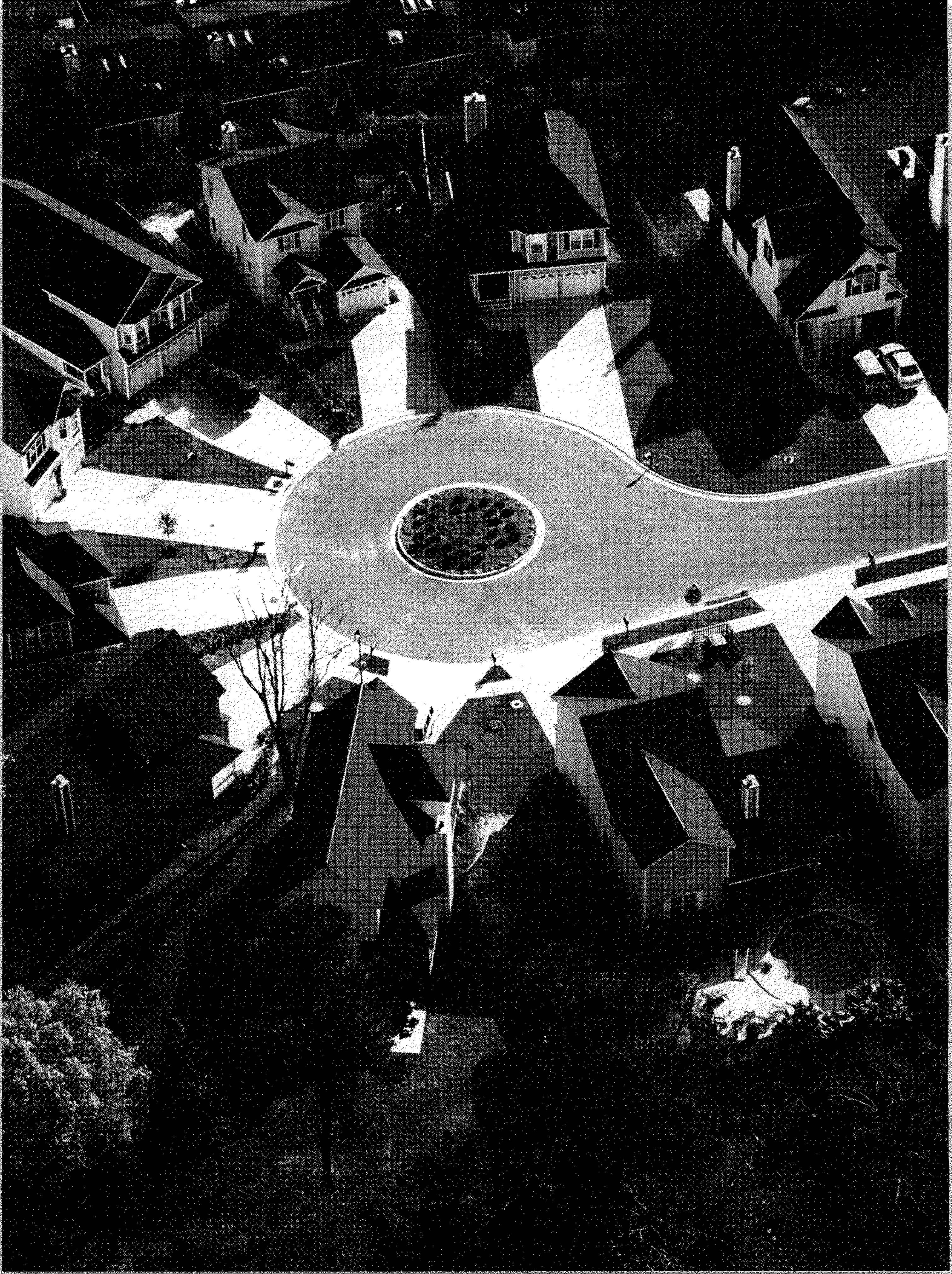
No one knows why the DEA suddenly withdrew its own rules -- the Agency isn't talking. But it may have been the fact that the guidelines protected doctors from prosecution if they unwittingly prescribed opiates to addicts who deceived them. The government is currently prosecuting several physicians for exactly that conduct.

Over 30 million Americans suffer from chronic pain. A great many may need double or triple the normal amount of medication -- and they are almost always under-treated. These people could legitimately get relief with opioid drugs but they can't find doctors willing to prescribe enough to kill the pain. Taking opioids for pain relief rarely leads to addiction but physicians fear that prescribing large doses will attract the attention of over zealous federal agents, a risk that includes lengthy prison terms. So victims of severe accidents, failed surgery, terminal cancer, and the like are often left to writhe in agony.

Over the last two years the DEA tried to address this crisis, working with medical specialists from the University of Wisconsin's Pain and Policy Studies Group. They set guidelines that would both instruct and safeguard physicians, allowing them to prescribe adequate levels of pain medication without fear of harassment.

These guidelines or something like them should be reinstated so that no one has to suffer needlessly.

Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
Mike Gray, Chair; Robert Field, Co-Chair



Crime-Friendly Neighborhoods

How "New Urbanist" planners sacrifice safety in the name of "openness" and "accessibility"

Stephen Town and Randal O'Toole

Burras Road was a pleasant cul-de-sac of 21 new homes in Bradford, England. Its residents were blissfully unaware that, just east of the site, approval for a proposed new shopping center required the breaching of their cul-de-sac by a bicycle-pedestrian path.

Planners favored this requirement because, they say, cul-de-sacs do not encourage movement and therefore are "auto-dependent" and "anti-urban." Opening up the site would connect residents to local services, and the path would promote walking and cycling.

The path connecting the shopping center to the cul-de-sac opened in 2000. Although there is no evidence that the path has led residents to drive less, it did have a profound effect on their lives. During the next six months, a neighborhood that had been virtually crime-free saw its burglary rate rise to 14 times the national rate, with matching increases in overall crime, including arson, assault, and antisocial behavior.

Because a secondary school was located west of the cul-de-sac, the pedestrian path opened the neighborhood to a constant stream of students and others going between the school and the shopping center. Crime and vandalism became commonplace. "The path turned our piece of paradise into a living hell," one resident complained.

At a late stage, the local police crime prevention officer had tried to prevent the route from opening, predicting it would be a disaster, only to be told that the path was "sacrosanct." Residents' quality of life apparently was less important than the dubious goal of reducing auto dependency.

Architects and urban planners who call themselves New Urbanists say their proposals, including developments that mix residential and commercial uses, have homes with tiny private yards and large common areas, and feature pedestrian paths, will solve all sorts of social problems, including crime. Yet the housing and neighborhood designs they want to substitute for the modern suburb almost invariably increase crime.

Eyes on the Street

The idea that mixed-use neighborhoods reduce crime goes back to 1961, when the social critic Jane Jacobs wrote *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs described her book as "an attack on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning." More specifically, she attacked urban renewal, the planning fad of the 1950s and '60s.

Much of urban renewal was inspired by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier, whose Radiant City envisioned modern, high-rise apartment buildings separated by green spaces and broad avenues. Le Corbusier claimed this would provide

Cul-de-sac neighborhood, ©Getty Images

the "three essential joys of urbanism: sun, space, and greenery." Unfortunately, he forgot an even more essential joy: privacy.

To get federal funds for urban renewal, cities had to find that the areas to be renewed were "blighted." Jacobs, who lived in Greenwich Village at the time, believed federal funding gave cities incentives to find blight everywhere, and she demonstrated that the "slums" planners wanted to clear were often living, thriving neighborhoods.

Jacobs also wanted to show that inner cities were not necessarily as crime-infested as people feared them to be. She observed that mixed-use neighborhoods had people watching the streets throughout the day, both from the ground-floor shops and the mid-rise apartment buildings above those shops. These "eyes on the street," she argued, reduced crime.

Whether or not Jacobs was right, her "great American cities" really included just a half-dozen or so dense cities that were largely built before the 1890 invention of the electric streetcar: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, and perhaps Baltimore and a few others. Jacobs never claimed her inner-city urban villages suffered less crime than the suburbs—or, indeed, that any part of her analysis applied to the suburbs. "I hope no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which still are suburban," she wrote. "We are in enough trouble already from trying to understand big cities in terms of the behavior, and imagined behavior, of towns. To try to understand towns in terms of big cities will only compound confusion."

Thirty years later, the planners Al Zelinka and Dean Brennan made exactly that mistake.

The Overselling of New Urbanism

Zelinka and Brennan are the authors of *SafeScape: Creating Safer, More Livable Communities Through Planning and Design*, published in 2001 by the American Planning Association. As the subtitle suggests, the authors believe the right sort of town planning can reduce crime. Unfortunately, the planning principles they advocate were borrowed from the New Urbanists—a group whose philosophy, Zelinka and Brennan have written, "clearly plays an important role in eliminating fear of crime and the perception of crime."

New Urbanism combined two movements in the architecture and urban planning communities. The first, sometimes called neotraditionalism, focused on using urban design to give people a sense of community. The loss of community in "placeless suburbs," the neotraditionalists believed, caused all sorts of social ills, ranging from crime to teenage suicides. Neotraditionalists recommended design features such as sidewalks, front porches, parks, community centers, and other common areas, all aimed at getting people to interact with one another.

The second movement focused on the relationship between land use and transportation. Modern suburbs had made people "auto dependent," planners said, which led to pollution, obesity, and other social ills. To remedy this, planners recommended higher-density "compact cities" that mixed housing with retail and commercial uses so that people could walk to the grocery store or places of employment.

There clearly is a market for New Urban-style communities, mainly among young singles, double-income-no-children couples, and people who appreciate bohemian lifestyles. Families with children, empty nesters, and people who prefer a quieter neighborhood are not so interested.

For many New Urbanists, it isn't enough to build to the market. The Congress for the New Urbanism, founded in 1993, declares on its Web site that "all development should be in the form of compact, walkable neighborhoods." New Urbanists eagerly helped write zoning codes that forbade things that had previously been mandated—broad streets, low densities, separation of residential from commercial uses—while mandating things that had formerly been forbidden, such as narrow streets, high densities, and mixed uses.

To promote this crusade, its advocates oversold New Urbanism, promising it would solve every urban problem. Do you commute to work? New Urbanism will reduce congestion. Suffer from asthma? New Urbanism will clean the air. Are you a parent? New Urbanism will improve schools. (In fact, there is no evidence that New Urbanism can do any of these things, and plenty of evidence that it does the opposite. Denser development did not significantly reduce per capita driving; it just increased driving per square mile and thereby increased congestion. Since cars pollute most in congested traffic, New Urbanism also contributed to air pollution. Since New Urban developments mainly attracted

The path connecting the shopping center to the cul-de-sac opened in 2000. During the next six months, a neighborhood that had been virtually crime-free saw its burglary rate rise to 14 times the national rate.

singles and childless couples, residents had little interest in improving schools.)

With *SafeScape*, Zelinka and Brennan added one more urban malady to the mix. Their book asserts, without substantial evidence, that mixed uses, pedestrian paths, and interconnected streets (as opposed to cul-de-sacs) reduce crime. The book's publisher, the American Planning Association, has 30,000 members who work for city and county governments throughout the country, many of whom are New Urbanists eager for support for their preconceived notions. Police, lacking their own experts, often assume that planners know what they are doing: At least one police chief, Mark Kroeker of Portland, has taken it seriously.

The book relied heavily on Jane Jacobs' notion of "eyes on the street." Single-use residential suburbs, the writers claimed, are easily preyed upon by criminals because they "display clearly identifiable behavioral routines and patterns"—that is, most people leave for work all day. Mixed-use neighborhoods "contribute to a safer, more vital public realm" because shopkeepers and shoppers have eyes on the street at all hours of the day.

It might sound persuasive, but there are a few problems with this position. One, as we've seen, is that Jacobs was writing only about cities, not suburbs. Another is that this was one area where Jacobs wasn't even right about cities. Jacobs' claims were based solely on qualitative observations, not on any actual crime data. When the architect Oscar Newman took a look at those data, a quarter century before *SafeScape* was published, he found a more complex story.

Defensible Argument

A teacher of urban design at St. Louis' Washington University, Newman watched the decline of Pruitt-Igoe, an award-winning high-rise housing project that had closely followed Le Corbusier's vision of a Radiant City. Completed in 1956, the project suffered so much crime that it quickly became unlivable. Despite offering essentially free housing for many poor people, its high vacancy rates led to closure, and its 1972 demolition has come to symbolize the failure of government housing projects.

Newman noticed that there was a low-rise housing project across the street from Pruitt-Igoe whose residents were in the same socioeconomic class but that "remained fully occupied and trouble-free throughout construction, occupancy, and decline of Pruitt-Igoe." What, Newman wondered, were "the physical differences that had enabled one to survive while the other fell apart"?

With funding from the National Science Foundation, Newman carefully compared crime rates with the design features of thousands of blocks in hundreds of urban neighborhoods that collectively housed nearly half a million people.

The result was his 1972 book *Defensible Space*, which showed that the safest neighborhoods maximized private space and minimized common zones. Safe areas also minimized "permeability," that is, the ease of entry to and exit from the neighborhood or housing area. Cul-de-sacs are thus a crime-prevention device, and any breaching of cul-de-sacs will predictably increase crime. Newman didn't include suburbs in his study because they had much lower crime rates than the urban neighborhoods he did examine. This, he believed, was because the suburbs were less permeable and more defensible.

Relying more on mid-rise developments than high rises, New Urbanism claims to have fixed the problems of Le Corbusier's Radiant City. Yet New Urbanism shares many features with

Pruitt-Igoe, including the large communal areas and permeability that Newman found caused so many problems.

The authors of *SafeScape* were familiar with Newman's work, but they chose to misrepresent it. "Newman took the 'eyes on the street' concept," Zelinka and Brennan wrote, and "argued that the reason 'eyes on the street' provide safety in urban, mixed commercial and residential areas is because there is a visible link between residents and the street." In fact, Newman specifically criticized what he called "the unsupported hypotheses of Jane Jacobs." Newman's work showed that mixed-use development led to significantly higher crime, while he couldn't find any evidence that "eyes on the street" would reduce that crime. "'Natural surveillance' is not automatically created by high-density environments," he wrote, "unless the grounds around each dwelling are assigned to specific families."

Table 1 contrasts some of the major differences between the models advanced in *SafeScape* and *Defensible Space*. Newman's book shows that virtually all of the things that Zelinka and Brennan want to change about the suburbs actually would lead to higher crime.

Public space vs. private space: One New Urbanist concept built into *SafeScape* is the idea of maximizing common areas to create "a sense of community." While one of *SafeScape*'s principles is "stewardship and ownership," the authors don't want private areas so much as they want to give people a "sense of ownership" in community property. To that end, say the authors, "Communities should include places that support the coming together of people," such as shops, pedestrian paths, parks, and community gardens. While these things are fine if people want them, when planners impose them on neighborhoods, the results are often disastrous.

Newman took exactly the opposite approach. "The larger the number of people who share a communal space," he found, "the more difficult it is for people to identify it as being in any way theirs or to feel they have a right to control or determine the activity taking place within it." To solve this problem, "'Defensible Space' operates by subdividing large portions of public spaces and assigning them to individuals and small groups to use and control as their own private areas."

Mixed uses vs. separate uses: "Mixed land-use patterns contribute to a safer, more vital public realm," say Zelinka and Brennan. In contrast, Newman found, mixed uses "generate high crime and vandalism rates," and housing units next to commercial areas "suffer proportionally higher crime rates." More recent research in Baltimore and Philadelphia by Temple University criminologist Ralph Taylor and several colleagues confirms that mixed uses increase both crime and the cost of policing.

The reason mixing retail with residential areas increases crime is simple: Space is only defensible if residents have the clear right to influence and control what takes place there. In commercial or public areas, everyone has the right or excuse to be present, and offenders are indistinguishable from law-abiding citizens. Mixed use therefore reduces residential control over the neighborhood and provides criminals with anonymity as they merge into the background.

Alleys vs. no alleys: New Urbanists like alleys because they allow people to hide cars in back while keeping the fronts of homes close to the street. Yet alleys make houses easier to burgle and are dangerous routes for pedestrians. *SafeScape* recognizes that alleys "provide easy access and escape routes into/from a neighborhood by nonresidents, while allowing those individuals relative anonymity." Yet instead of gating alleys, as the defensible-space approach would, *SafeScape*'s lame solution is "to provide 'eyes on the alley'" by redesigning buildings to face alleys.

In sharp contrast, *Closing Streets and Alleys to Reduce Crime*, a new report from the U.S. Department of Justice, urges cities and neighborhoods to close alleys and take other actions to block off escape routes for burglars.

Houses close to the street: New Urbanists want to create "active, vibrant," pedestrian-oriented streets, so they design homes and businesses close to the street and place parking in rear courtyards. Such rear courtyards increase burglary by providing criminals with more public access to private homes and create needless common areas that are costly to protect.

Pedestrian paths: New Urbanism promotes pedestrian paths both to encourage alternatives to the auto and to create a sense of community. Defensible space restricts foot-paths.

Gridded streets vs. cul-de-sacs: Zelinka and Brennan approvingly cite a case in Madison, Wisconsin, where cul-de-sacs were eliminated to provide more eyes on the street. Yet the British Crime Survey, regarded by the U.K. government as the most reliable guide to crime, found that houses on main roads were at more than twice the risk of being burgled as those in a cul-de-sac. The Department of Justice's *Closing Streets* cites numerous studies in the U.S. showing that reducing connectivity reduces crime. It also finds that "most research supports the idea that burglars avoid houses in cul-de-sacs."

When Dayton, Ohio, asked Newman to apply defensible-space concepts to a neighborhood suffering high rates of drug-related violence and property crime, his solution was to gate numerous streets—in essence, to turn a traditional street grid into cul-de-sacs. Within two years, violent crime in that neighborhood fell by 50 percent and overall crime by 25 percent, even as crime in Dayton overall increased by 1 percent.

Out of 17 case studies included in *SafeScape*, only one offered any data indicating that crime declined after application of Zelinka and Brennan's principles. Ironically, that one example relied primarily on street closures, as recommended by Newman, not by the New Urbanists.

"I am not very impressed with the work of the New Urbanists," Newman wrote shortly before he passed away in April 2004. "It is nostalgia—a throwback to the past, with little thought about what made those environments work then (long-term occupancy by an identical economic class and ethnic group), and unworkable today. The residential environments they are creating are very vulnerable to criminal behavior, unless, of course, these environments are exclusively occupied by high-income groups." The New Urbanists, of course, abhor exclusive, high-income neighborhoods and insist that communities should include people of all incomes.

The Advantages of Private Space

The defensible-space approach has been most influential in England, where a team of land-use researchers led by the Kings College geographer Alice Coleman in the early 1980s replicated and expanded Newman's research by carefully examining nearly 6,000 residential blocks, including both suburban and urban areas. Affirming most of Newman's conclusions, they found that neighborhoods of single-family detached homes had the fewest problems, and those that did have problems were across the street from apartments. Apartments could reduce problems, Coleman found, by minimizing the number of dwellings accessible from a single entrance and privatizing common areas.

Today all British police departments have architectural liaison officers who review proposed developments and help developers find ways to minimize crime. British police have developed a national award program called Secured by Design, which is based on Newman's defensible-space ideas. The program's success is apparent

Table 1. Comparison of SafeScape and Defensible Space

	SafeScape	Defensible Space
Public vs. Private	Maximize commons to promote interaction and a sense of community	Maximize private areas to create defensible space; create a sense of community through smaller developments with fewer strangers
Uses	Mix uses to provide activity and increase eyes on the street	Mixed use reduces residential control and therefore increases crime
Streets and Footpaths	Encourage walking and cycling, increase surveillance through a grid street pattern	Limit access and escape opportunities to provide more privacy and increase residential control
Alleys	Face buildings toward alleys to provide eyes on the alley	Eliminate or gate alleys as they increase burglary and are dangerous for pedestrians
Autos	Build homes close to the street, forcing parking to be on the street or in rear courtyards	Autos are safest in garages or visible in front of the house; rear courtyards facilitate burglary
Density	High density to promote activity, sustain public transit, and reduce sprawl	Density creates vulnerability when it increases common areas or unsafe parking

As Jane Jacobs wrote more than four decades ago, "To build city districts that are custom made for easy crime is idiotic. Yet that is what we do." And that is what Zelinka, Brennan, and the New Urbanists would have us do today.

from dramatic reductions in crime that have followed its implementation.

Developers in public housing have a financial incentive to achieve the Secured by Design award, which includes a package of design and security measures in their plans. All applicants are volunteers, though the program gives police power to impose things on developers that will significantly reduce the cost of policing. Americans may or may not want to give police departments that much power over developers. But they certainly don't want planning departments promoting designs that will increase crime.

One of the British architectural liaison officers' clear findings is that assigning common areas to individual families in a multifamily housing project can virtually eliminate burglaries and vandalism. When people own an area they have the right to influence and control it in a way that is impossible in common areas.

For example, Royds was a West Yorkshire public housing development of about 3,500 homes sheltering some 12,000 people. Royds was originally built in the 1950s, but by the 1990s it had gone into serious decline, with parts resembling a slum. The burglary rate was one of the worst in the country, at seven times the national average. So the government regenerated it in the early 1990s using secured-by-design principles. The result, for nearly a decade, has been a virtual elimination of burglary.

Even Britain has its New Urbanists, and one architectural liaison officer was moved by pressure from the New Urban movement to compare defensible space with New Urbanism. Peter Knowles, of the Bedfordshire Police, compared the design features of 24,000 housing units with some 20,000 incidents of crime. He concluded that New Urban-like housing had five times the crime and cost police departments three times as much to keep secure as neighborhoods designed to defensible-space standards.

British New Urbanists consider Hulme, in Manchester, a model of New Urban design. It consists of a mixture of low-rise and four-story apartment buildings with a semi-public interior courtyard. The latest Police Crime Pattern Analysis found that it suffers three and a half times the national average rate of crime, and a recent survey found that many children felt unsafe even in their immediate home environments because of the public nature of the streets.

"The design of streets and buildings should reinforce safe environments," says the Congress for the New Urbanism, "but not at the expense of accessibility and openness." With accessibility a euphemism for mixed use and openness a euphemism for permeability, it is clear that New Urbanists make safety from crime a low priority. That is fine if residents understand what they're getting. But they should not be misled by books like *SafeScape* into believing that one of the things they're getting is less crime.

Urban design can enable crime or it can limit crime. As Jane Jacobs wrote more than four decades ago, "To build city districts that are custom made for easy crime is idiotic. Yet that is what we do." And that is what Zelinka, Brennan, and the New Urbanists would have us do today. ■

Stephen Town is an architectural liaison officer with the West Yorkshire Police Department and co-author of Design Against Crime: Guidance for the Design of Residential Areas, published by the European Union Commission in 2003 (designagainstcrime.org). The opinions expressed in this article are his own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the West Yorkshire Police Department. Randal O'Toole (rot@ti.org) is an economist with the Thoreau Institute and the author of The Vanishing Automobile and Other Urban Myths (Thoreau Institute).

Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **"shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!"** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was over 38 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton's miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! "Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated." Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body's immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

"We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission."

—Thelma B.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today."

—Hugh M.

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two."

—Duncan M.

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure."

—Edward S.,M.D.

"As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery."

—Romany S.

"I've been incorporating Dr. Budwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information."

—Molly G.

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Neal Stephenson's Past, Present, and Future

The author of the widely praised *Baroque Cycle* on science, markets, and post-9/11 America

Interviewed by Mike Godwin

If you met the novelist Neal Stephenson a decade ago, you would have encountered a slight, unassuming grad-student type whose soft-spoken demeanor gave no obvious indication that he had written the manic apotheosis of cyberpunk science fiction (1992's *Snow Crash*, in which computer viruses start invading hacker minds). It wasn't his debut—he'd published two earlier novels in the 1980s—but the book was such a hit that it put his name on the science fiction map in a way the earlier efforts had not.

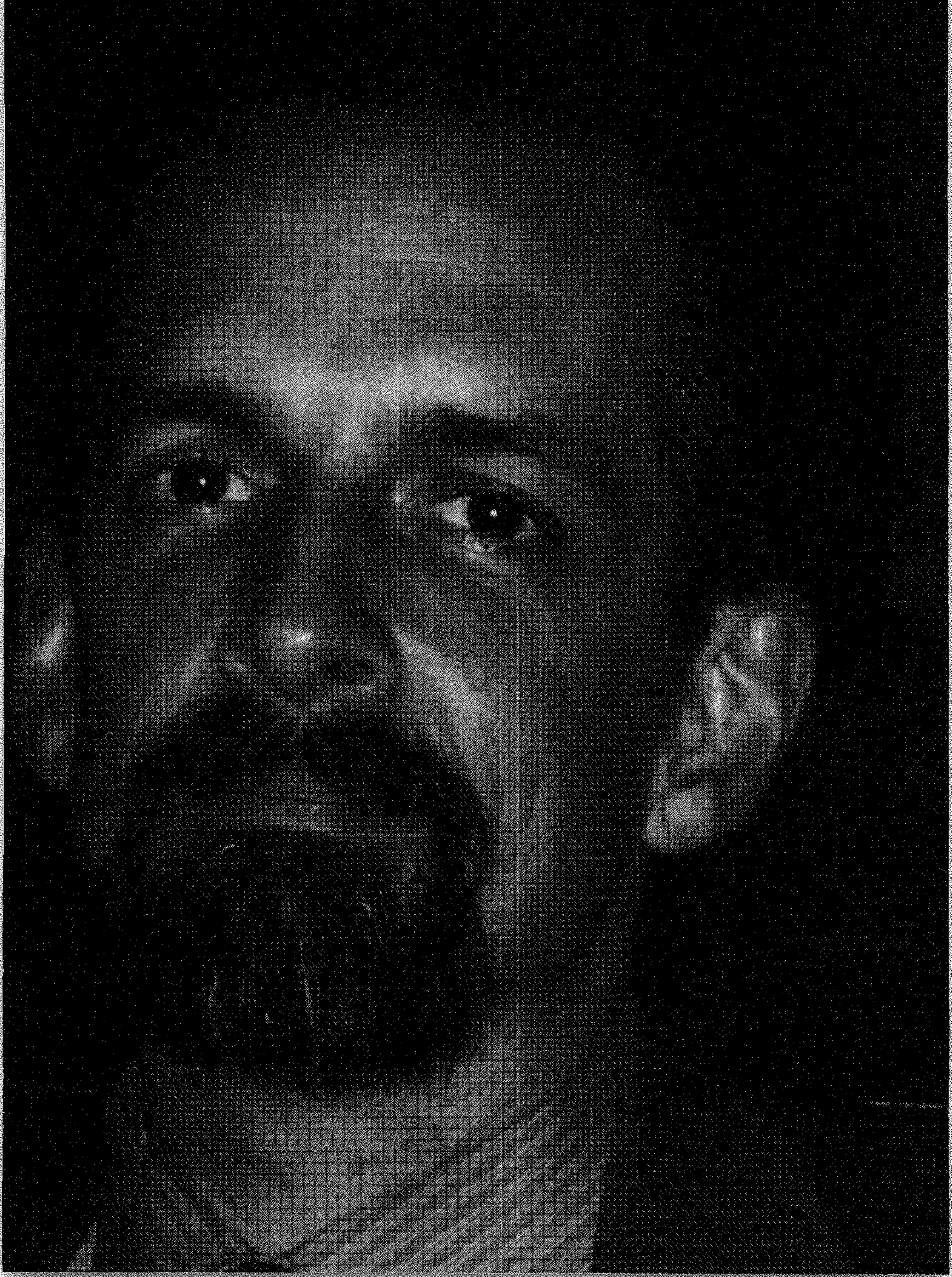
Meet Stephenson today, and you'll meet a well-muscled, shaven-headed, bearded fellow who's just published a highly acclaimed, massively popular trilogy of 900-page novels set mostly in the 17th century. Talk to him, though, and you still hear the rigorously humble guy of 10 years ago. Read that trilogy—*Quicksilver*, *The Confusion*, and *The System of the World*, collectively called *The Baroque Cycle*—and you'll have the uncanny sense that you're reading some new kind of science fiction. Actually, with every Stephenson book since *Snow Crash*, you feel that you're reading some new kind of science fiction, regardless of the nominal set and settings of the story.

The three parts of *The Baroque Cycle* were published at six-month intervals in 2003 and 2004; they feature historical figures ranging from Newton and Leibniz to Louis XIV and a very young Benjamin Franklin, bound up in a narrative with the fictional ancestors of the characters in Stephenson's similarly huge, cryptology-centered 1999 novel *Cryptonomicon*. Like *Cryptonomicon*, the trilogy has attracted praise from mainstream critics as well as Stephenson's science fiction fan base. *The Village Voice* calls the series "a work of idiosyncratic beauty whose plots boast tangled, borderless roots." *The Independent* says it is "a far more impressive literary endeavour than most so-called 'serious' fiction." Even a mixed review of *Quicksilver* in *The Washington Post* describes it as "often brilliant and occasionally astonishing."

Stephenson has a substantial libertarian following as well, and not merely because the decentralized, post-statist social systems he describes in *Snow Crash* and *The Diamond Age* (1995) are so radically different from modern government. *The Baroque Cycle* is, among other things, a close look at the rise of science, the market, and the nation-state, themes close to any classical liberal's heart. Reading it means reading three long, encyclopedic books and maybe spending half a year in an earlier century. It's not the kind of thing the average reader takes on lightly. But once you find you have a taste for Stephenson's broad range of obsessive interests, his fine ear for period and modern English prose and speech, and his gift for making the improbably comic seem eminently human, the question no longer is whether you'll read his books—it's when.

Contributing Editor Mike Godwin interviewed Stephenson, primarily via e-mail, in late fall.

Neal Stephenson, Bela Bollabos



reason: In *The Baroque Cycle* we see two different kinds of nation-states at war with each other: traditional monarchies vs. the modern mercantile state. Some readers see political themes in *Snow Crash*, *The Diamond Age*, and *Cryptonomicon*—e.g., that traditional governmental institutions have collapsed or mutated into some less central form. Is this something you see as inevitable?

Neal Stephenson: I can understand that if you are the sort of person who spends a lot of time thinking about government and commerce, then by reading *Snow Crash*, *The Diamond Age*, *Cryptonomicon*, and *The Baroque Cycle* through that lens, and by squinting, holding the books at funny angles, and jiggling them around, you might be able to perceive some sort of common theme. But it is a stretch. The themes you mention are so vast and so common to all societies and periods of history that I would find it difficult to write a novel that did not touch on them in some way.

In general I try to avoid the easy, the glib, and the oversimplified in my books. I don't always succeed, but that is my goal. A way to approach that goal is to try to see things through the eyes of reasonably well-wrought characters. So, if I'm writing a book set 350 years ago, when the old medieval system of titled nobility is losing ground to a new power system based on international trade, then I try to get inside the heads of people who lived in those days and see things their way. Similarly, if I am writing something set in a high-tech world where the nation-state seems to be losing ground as compared to other sorts of entities, such as NGOs or traditional cultural groups, I'm going to do my best to reflect that. It is the sort of thing that intelligent people think about from time to time, and it would seem stilted to portray otherwise intelligent and self-aware characters who never think about such topics.

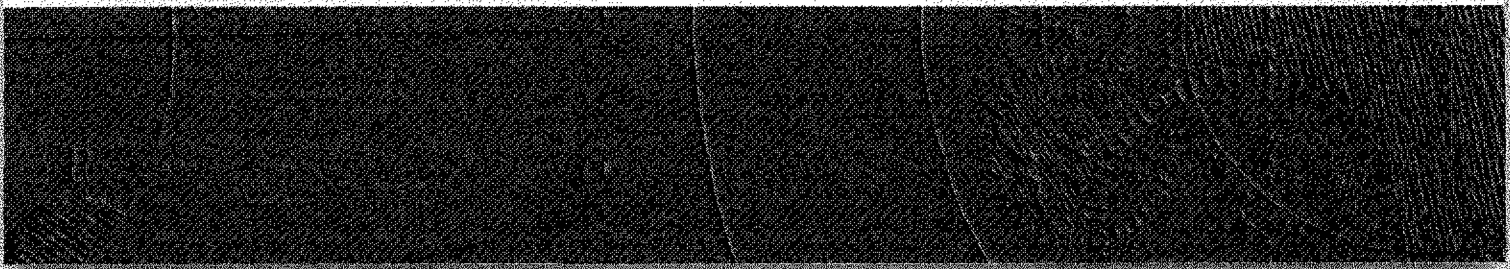
Much of what has gone on since 9/11, not only here but in other places, like the Netherlands, looks to me like a reversal of the trends of the previous couple of decades. Government is getting more powerful, and its (perceived) usefulness and relevance to the average person is more obvious than it was 10 years ago.

reason: *Snow Crash* is almost a parody of a libertarian future. Do you think the affinity-group-based societies you outline in that book are on their way? Do you see that as a warning note, or a natural state we're progressing toward?

Stephenson: I dreamed up the *Snow Crash* world 15 years ago as a thought experiment, and I tweaked it to be as funny and outrageous and graphic novel–like as I could make it. Such a world wouldn't be stable unless each little "burbclave" had the ability to defend itself from all external threats. This is not plausible, barring some huge advances in defensive technology. So I think that if I were seriously to address your question, "Do you see that as a warning note, or a natural state...?," I would be guilty of taking myself a little bit too seriously.

Speaking as an observer who has many friends with libertarian instincts, I would point out that terrorism is a much more formidable opponent of political liberty than government. Government acts almost as a recruiting station for libertarians. Anyone who pays taxes or has to fill out government paperwork develops libertarian impulses almost as a knee-jerk reaction. But terrorism acts as a recruiting station for

"Much of what has gone on since 9/11 looks to me like a reversal of the trends of the previous couple of decades. Government is getting more powerful, and its (perceived) usefulness and relevance is more obvious than it was 10 years ago."



statists. So it looks to me as though we are headed for a triangular system in which libertarians and statists and terrorists interact with each other in a way that I'm afraid might turn out to be quite stable.

reason: You gave a speech at the Computers, Freedom, and Privacy Conference a few years back in which you suggested that the focus on issues like encryption was too narrow, and that we should give more attention to what theologian Walter Wink calls "domination systems." This surprised some of the attendees, partly because it reached outside the usual privacy/free speech issue set and partly because, hey, you were citing a theologian. What brought you to Walter Wink, and what other light do you think theologians can shed on our approaches to government?

Stephenson: This probably won't do anything to endear me or Wink to the typical **reason** reader, but I was made aware of him by a Jesuit priest of leftish tendencies who had been reading his stuff.

It's almost always a disaster when a novelist decides to become political. So let me just make a few observations here on a human level—which is within my comfort zone as a novelist—and leave it at that.

It's clear that the body politic is subject to power disorders. By this I mean events where some person or group suddenly concentrates a lot of power and abuses it. Power disorders frequently come as a surprise, and cause a lot of damage. This has been true since the beginning of human history. Exactly how and why power disorders occur is poorly understood.

We are in a position akin to that of early physicians who could see that people were getting sick but couldn't do anything about it, because they didn't understand the underlying causes. They knew of a few tricks that seemed to work. For example, nailing up plague houses tended to limit the spread of plague. But even the smart doctors tended to fall under the sway of pet theories that were wrong, such as the idea that diseases were caused by imbalanced humors or bad air. Once that happened, they ignored evidence that contradicted their theory. They became so invested in that theory that they treated any new ideas as threats. But from time to time you'd see someone like John Snow, who would point out, "Look, everyone who draws water from Well X is getting cholera." Then he went and removed the pump handle from Well X and people stopped getting cholera. They still didn't understand germ theory, but they were getting closer.

We can make a loose analogy to the way that people have addressed the problem of power disorders. We don't really understand them. We know that there are a couple of tricks that seem to help, such as the rule of law and separation of powers. Beyond that, people tend to fall under the sway of this or that pet theory. And so you'll get perfectly intelligent people saying, "All of our problems would be solved if only the workers controlled the means of production," or what have you. Once they've settled on a totalizing political theory, they see everything through that lens and are hostile to other notions.

Wink's interpretation of the New Testament is that Jesus was not a pacifist milksop but (among other things) was encouraging people to resist the dominant power system of the era, that being the Roman Empire. Mind you, Wink is no fan of violence either, and he devotes a lot of ink to attacking what he calls the Myth of Redemptive Violence, which he sees as a meme by which domination systems are perpetuated. But he is clearly all in favor of people standing up against oppressive power systems of all stripes.

Carrying that forward to the present day, Wink takes a general interest in people in various places who are getting the shaft. He develops an empirical science of shaftology, if you will. (Of course he doesn't call it shaftology; that's just my name for it.) He goes all over the world and looks at different kinds of people who are obviously getting the shaft, be they blacks in apartheid South Africa, South American peasants, or residents of inner-city neighborhoods dominated by gangs. He looks for connections among all of these situations and in this way develops the idea of domination systems. It's not germ theory and modern antibiotics, but it is, at the very least, a kind of epidemiology of power disorders. And even people who can't stomach the religious content of his work might take a few cues from this epidemiological, as opposed to theoretical/ideological, approach.

reason: *The Baroque Cycle* suggests that there are sometimes great explosions of creativity, followed by that creative energy's recombining and eventual crystallization into new forms—social, technological, political. Are we seeing a similar degree of explosive progress in the modern U.S.?

Stephenson: The success of the U.S. has not come from one consistent cause, as far as I can make out. Instead the U.S. will find a way to succeed for a few decades based

Quicksilver (cover detail)

on one thing, then, when that peters out, move on to another. Sometimes there is trouble during the transitions. So, in the early-to-mid-19th century, it was all about expansion westward and a colossal growth in population. After the Civil War, it was about exploitation of the world's richest resource base: iron, steel, coal, the railways, and later oil.

For much of the 20th century it was about science and technology. The heyday was the Second World War, when we had not just the Manhattan Project but also the Radiation Lab at MIT and a large cryptology industry all cooking along at the same time. The war led into the nuclear arms race and the space race, which led in turn to the revolution in electronics, computers, the Internet, etc. If the emblematic figures of earlier eras were the pioneer with his Kentucky rifle, or the Gilded Age plutocrat, then for the era from, say, 1940 to 2000 it was the engineer, the geek, the scientist. It's no coincidence that this era is also when science fiction has flourished, and in which the whole idea of the Future became current. After all, if you're living in a technocratic society, it seems perfectly reasonable to try to predict the future by extrapolating trends in science and engineering.

It is quite obvious to me that the U.S. is turning away from all of this. It has been the case for quite a while that the cultural left distrusted geeks and their works; the depiction of technical sorts in popular culture has been overwhelmingly negative for at least a generation now. More recently, the cultural right has apparently decided that it doesn't care for some of what scientists have to say. So the technical class is caught in a pincer between these two wings of the so-called culture war. Of course the broad mass of people don't belong to one wing or the other. But science is all about diligence, hard sustained work over long stretches of time, sweating the details, and abstract thinking, none of which is really being fostered by mainstream culture.

Since our prosperity and our military security for the last three or four generations have been rooted in science and technology, it would therefore seem that we're coming to the end of one era and about to move into another. Whether it's going to be better or worse is difficult for me to say. The obvious guess would be "worse." If I really wanted to turn this into a jeremiad, I could hold forth on that for a while. But as mentioned before, this country has always found a new way to move forward and be prosperous. So maybe we'll get lucky again. In the meantime, efforts to predict the future by extrapolating trends in the world of science and technology are apt to feel a lot less compelling than they might have in 1955.

reason: Is *The Baroque Cycle* science fiction?

Stephenson: Labels such as *science fiction* are most useful when employed for marketing purposes, i.e., to help readers find books that they are likely to enjoy reading. With that in mind, I'd say that people who know and love science fiction will recognize these books as coming out of that tradition. So the *science fiction* label is useful for them as a marketing term. However, non-S.F. readers are also reading and enjoying these books, and I seem to have a new crop of readers who aren't even aware that I am known as an S.F. writer. So it would be an error to be too strict or literal-minded about application of the *science fiction* label.

reason: To some of your longstanding readers, it may be a bit of a jolt to find themselves in the 17th- and 18th-century settings of this new trilogy. Is there any clear line connecting your earlier novels to your most recent ones?

Stephenson: The progression from my earlier S.F. works set in the future to *The Baroque Cycle* is easy to explain:

- The earlier books like *Snow Crash* and *The Diamond Age* actually had a lot of historical content in them.
- Obviously, I was paying a lot of attention to information technology.
- Historical novels, such as alternate histories, are common in the S.F. world.
- The Second World War has been, and continues to be, fertile ground for novelists and other artists.
- Taking into account all of the above, it was reasonable, verging on obvious, to write a historical S.F. novel about the origins of information technology in the Second World War (*Cryptonomicon*). That book also ended up having a lot to do with money.
- As I was working on *Cryptonomicon* I became aware that a) Leibniz had done a lot of work with information technology and b) Newton had done a lot of work on money, and of course I already knew that c) Leibniz and Newton hated each other and had a philosophical war. When I began to study the period of time in which these two men lived I discovered that d) it was a fascinating epoch in many, many ways. So again, it became reasonable, verging on obvious, to write something about that topic. But the complexity of the

The Confusion (cover detail)

era was such that I didn't think I could tell the story I wanted to tell in a single book. And yet the excitement and splendor of the times were such that I hoped I might be able to sustain a reasonably interesting narrative over a large number of pages.

reason: One of the things you discover reading *The Baroque Cycle* is just how much of today's understanding of the world—not just the physical world, but the social and monetary worlds—derives from ideas that were current in the time of Newton and Leibniz. Was that a surprise to you when you were researching the period?

Stephenson: The initial surprise was that Leibniz had done so much computer-related work so early. I got that from George Dyson's *Darwin Among the Machines*. When I began to read about the period, I was surprised by the sophistication of the Amsterdam stock market and the complexity of the Lyonnaise financial system. But the greatest single surprise for me was the welter of ideas contained in [Robert] Hooke's *Micrographia*. Hooke talks about an incredibly wide range of topics in that volume.

One is how we ought to define thinking—what is intelligence? He cites the way that flies are drawn to the smell of meat, which seems like intelligent behavior. But then he cites the counterexample of a trap that kills an animal. To a primitive person who didn't know that the trap had been invented by a person, it might seem that the trap itself possessed intelligence and will. Of course, this isn't really the case; it's just a dumb mechanism reflecting the intelligence of him who created it. But, Hooke says, who are we to say that a fly isn't just a more complicated mechanism that is designed to fly toward the smell of meat? In which case it isn't being intelligent at all, only reflecting the intelligence of the Creator.

The final surprise I'll mention is that Leibniz's system of doing physics, which is based on fundamental units called monads, has got a few things in common with the modern notion of computational physics, or "it from bit." Furthermore, Leibniz's rejection of the concept of absolute space and time, which for a long time seemed a little bit loony to people, enjoyed a revival beginning with Ernst Mach.

One could argue that people like Leibniz and the others were able to come up with some good ideas because they weren't afraid to think metaphysically. In those days, metaphysics was still a respected discipline and considered as worthwhile as mathematics. It got the stuffing kicked out of it through much of the 20th century and became a byword for mystical, obscurantist thinking, but in recent decades it has been rehabilitated somewhat.

At bottom, anyone who asks questions like "Why does the universe seem to obey laws?" or "Why does mathematics work so well in modeling the physical universe?" is engaging in metaphysics. People like Newton and Leibniz were as well-equipped for this kind of thinking as anyone today, and so it is interesting to read and think about their metaphysics. Seventeenth-century chemistry may have been rudimentary, and of only historical interest today, but 17th-century philosophy is highly developed and still interesting to read.

reason: *The Baroque Cycle* is an unusual work of fiction in that it includes an extensive bibliography. Were you

> "Government acts almost as a recruiting station for libertarians. Anyone who pays taxes or has to fill out government paperwork develops libertarian impulses almost as a knee-jerk reaction. But terrorism acts as a recruiting station for statists."

pre-emptively answering critics who might not appreciate how much of these books was drawn from life?

Stephenson: I didn't anticipate (and so far have not seen) any such line of attack from critics and so made no effort to pre-empt it. It just seemed obvious to me that anyone who actually bothered to read *The Baroque Cycle* must have an interest in that era and might want to do some further reading, and so as long as I was killing trees I figured I'd try to save them some time and hassle by supplying a few pointers on where they might look.

reason: Your Newton and Leibniz (and the fictional Daniel Waterhouse) are remarkable characters because of their deep interest in almost everything around them. Are there modern figures who in your opinion show that range of interests?

Stephenson: To be interested in too many things is not conducive to professional advancement in the sciences today. You can't write a general Ph.D. dissertation. You have to pick something very specific. What does happen from time to time is that you'll have one scientist working on a very specific problem in one field, and another working on what seems to be an altogether different problem in another field, and somehow a spark will jump between them and they'll end up writing a joint paper.

Freeman Dyson and his son George Dyson are two people with extraordinarily broad scope. Beyond that, it is difficult to generalize. One encounters high-tech geeks, lawyers, ministers, businesspeople, soldiers, and construction workers who have made themselves extremely erudite by reading a lot of history, science, and philosophy. In an earlier era, people like these might have gravitated to the Royal Society, and indeed one of the many remarkable things about the early Royal Society was its ability to gather in such people, combined with its ability to identify and marginalize "enthusiasts" (cranks) while fostering the ones who had something to contribute. Modern-day scientific institutions tend to value specialization. But that is an unavoidable consequence of the advancement that has taken place in all sciences in the last 350 years.

reason: A critic once said of Thomas Pynchon that he was one of the few modern novelists for whom what the characters do for a living is more defining than what their emotional relationships are. It seems to me that you have that same focus. In *The Baroque Cycle*, the biggest romantic relationship in Daniel Waterhouse's life occurs mostly offstage, unless you count his difficult friendship with Isaac Newton.

Stephenson: There's a false dichotomy embedded in that. It's possible to have an emotional relationship with what you do for a living. And this is especially true when you work with other people, because naturally you form emotional relationships with those people, which get all tangled up with your relationship to the work itself.

Daniel Waterhouse has all sorts of emotional relationships with people. It is true that his romantic relationships with women play little overt role in the book. But he's got a quite complex web of relationships to his father and to the rest of his family, as well as to people like the Bolstroods, who are so close that they might as well be family. And over the course of the story he develops relationships with people like

"Since our prosperity and our military security for the last three or four generations have been rooted in science and technology, it would therefore seem that we're coming to the end of one era and about to move into another."

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Wilkins, Hooke, Oldenburg, Newton, and Leibniz. The book is much more about those relationships than what Daniel does for a living. We actually see very little of what Daniel does for a living and much more of his interactions with these other people. The reason he is summoned back from Boston in the opening chapters of *Quicksilver* is precisely because he is known to have relationships with Newton and Leibniz that no one else has.

reason: In the last decade or two, there's been a surge of fiction set in the 17th century: Tremain's *Restoration*, Pears' *An Instance of the Fingerpost*, Chevalier's *Girl with a Pearl Earring*. Is there something about the era that speaks with particular significance to the 21st century?

Stephenson: The glib answer would be that this is such a broad question that I could only answer it by writing a big fat trilogy set during this era. And if I try to answer this question discursively, that's what it's going to turn into. So I'll fall back on saying that it just feels interesting to me.

Here are a few specifics. The medieval is still very much alive and well during this period. People are carrying swords around. Military units have archers. Saracens snatch people from European beaches and carry them off to slavery. There are Alchemists and Cabalists. Great countries are ruled by kings who ride into battle wearing armor. Much of the human landscape—the cities and architecture—are medieval. And yet the modern world is present right next to all of this in the form of calculus, joint-stock companies, international financial systems, etc. This can't but be fascinating to a novelist.

Some older systems have reached a splendid apotheosis. Probably the most splendid is the court of Louis XIV at Versailles. Others mentioned include the Spanish Empire, the Mogul Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately it was not possible to explore all of these in very much detail in these books without making the cycle five times as long as it was already.

At the same time, with the benefit of hindsight we can see that all of those great systems were peaking and going into decline. The most conspicuous example, again, is Louis XIV's version of the French monarchy, which held together as long as he was there to run it. But he was one of a kind, and as soon as he died it all began to unravel and ceased to exist in a few decades.

Again with hindsight, we can see that the new structures and systems that supplanted the old ones were being established during this period. And they were being established in some unlikely places by some unlikely people. The role of persecuted religious minorities—Jews, Huguenots, Puritans, Armenians—is especially interesting here.

That's all to give some explanation of why the period is interesting to me. Of course, I can't speak for the other writers you have mentioned.

reason: In *The Baroque Cycle*, with some exceptions, you stick to a modern, comic mode. Since it's clear from your parodic passages that you can do period voices when you want to, why did you choose to make the language so modern?

Stephenson: *The Three Musketeers* has a distinctly 19th-century flavor, even though it's set in the 17th century. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* reads like an Elizabethan play, not like an ancient Roman history.

I'm hesitant to draw such comparisons because there is always the critic who jumps in with the cheap shot: "Oh, look, he's comparing himself to Shakespeare." So as a parenthetical aside to those who think that way, I'll stipulate that I'm not a Shakespeare or even a Dumas, but I am capable of learning from them.

I could have tried to write the entire *Baroque Cycle* in Jacobean English, but at some point I'd have had to ask myself, "Who am I kidding? Everyone knows this was written in the 21st century." The sensibility from which it's written is that of the high-tech modern world. To purge the whole cycle of all traces of modern English would have seemed forced and absurd. So I just wrote it in whatever language seemed best to get the story across, which in some places was modern-sounding English and in other places was period English.

reason: There are some mysteries in the trilogy that you don't fully explain.

Stephenson: Mysteries and unresolved questions are a part of real life, and so it's OK for them to exist in novels. As a matter of fact, I'm inclined to be a bit suspicious of any novel in which everything gets tidily resolved at the end. It doesn't feel right for me to do this. So I typically leave some things unresolved. It's not an oversight. ■

The System of the World [cover detail]

Our Forgotten Goddess

Isabel Paterson and the origins of libertarianism

Brian Doherty

The Woman and the Dynamo: Isabel Paterson and the Idea of America, by Stephen Cox, New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 418 pages, $39.95

THE HISTORY OF libertarianism has played out in the catacombs of standard American intellectual history. And so, even after an age of feminist theory and history, it is little noted that in 1943 three foundational documents of modern libertarianism were issued, as the journalist John Chamberlain put it, by "three women—Mrs. [Isabel] Paterson, Rose Wilder Lane, and Ayn Rand—who, with scornful side glances at the male business community, had decided to rekindle a faith in an older American philosophy. There wasn't an economist among them. And none of them was a Ph.D."

The works included Ayn Rand's first successful novel, *The Fountainhead*, in print constantly ever since. It has imbued generation after generation with admiration for a hero, Howard Roark, who acted on the belief that no man had a legitimate claim on his liberty, his energy. Most readers end up cheering Roark as he blows up an unoccupied government housing project for the poor. (He had his reasons.)

Another, less well-known work published that year was an extended essay on history and political philosophy called *The Discovery of Freedom: Man's Struggle Against Authority*. That book was written by novelist and journalist Rose Wilder Lane, best known nowadays as the daughter of (and possibly ghostwriter for) Laura Ingalls Wilder of *Little House on the Prairie* fame.

The third book was by a woman even less remembered now. She was a formerly influential New York literary critic and novelist who, like Lane, ended her public career with a work of uncompromisingly libertarian nonfiction published in the midst of war collectivism, after a decade of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal had made classical liberalism dangerously out of touch with the zeitgeist. Her name was Isabel Paterson, and her book was *The God of the Machine*. Her first biography, *The Woman and the Dynamo: Isabel Paterson and the Idea of America*, has just been published, written by Stephen Cox, a literature professor at the University of California at San Diego. Cox has done a smart, thorough job of explaining and contextualizing this unusual figure. He explores her connections to Lane and Rand, shining welcome light on an unfairly dark corner of 20th-century American intellectual history.

Paterson swam against a mighty tide with *The God of the Machine*. Old Right journalist Albert Jay Nock believed, with much evidence, that individualists were "superfluous men" in Roosevelt's America. Libertarian ideas, he thought, were like a delicate candle flame ever threatening to gutter; they could only be tended to monkishly by a tiny and obscure remnant. These three books published in 1943 tried to bring the philosophy to a wide, popular audience that the authors hoped was ready for it.

Nock declared that Lane's and Paterson's works were "the only intelligible books on the philosophy of individualism that have been written in America this century." The two female journalists had "shown the male world of this period how to think *fundamentally*....They don't fumble and fiddle around—every shot goes straight to the centre."

Isabel Paterson, Transaction Publishers

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Not just to the center, but to the root. The two books Nock wrote of—along with the novel by Rand, who was a close friend to Paterson (who was a close friend to Lane)—were each obsessed in their way with the origins of phenomena. In Paterson and Lane's case, the phenomenon was American political and economic success. In Rand's case, it was human greatness—and human depravity.

Two of these women died in obscurity; the third died as a lonely, embittered figure who was nonetheless loved by millions. They all paid a price for being uncompromising defenders of unpopular beliefs. They were all childless, but their ideological offspring have defined the libertarian movement in the postwar era. Paterson was one of the earliest synthesizers of the mixture that defines the still-growing political-ideological movement and tendency known as libertarianism, combining, as Cox aptly sums it up, "a belief in absolute individual rights and minimal (not just limited) government; advocacy of laissez-faire capitalism and an individualist and 'subjective' approach to economic theory; and opposition to social planning, victimless crime legislation, and any form of 'class' or 'status' society."

In *The God of the Machine*, her one work of political philosophy, Paterson tried to explain American exceptionalism. But she herself was a native Canadian, born Isabel Bowler (or possibly Mary Isabel Bowler; Cox was unable to ascertain her birth name) on an island in the middle of Lake Huron on January 22, 1886, one of nine children. Her family moved to the U.S. shortly thereafter, roughing it in Michigan's Upper Peninsula and the Utah territory. She spent her girlhood farming, ranching, and communing with Indians in the American West.

"She would never regard the frontier as the breeding ground of puritan virtues," writes Cox. "She was aware that other people did. Those people, she could only suppose, had 'never lived on the frontier,' where freedom to loaf was more highly prized than hard work and stern ambition." Paterson did recognize that "frontier society offered 'the most civilized type of association'...because it had 'the absolute minimum of external regulation' and therefore 'the maximum of voluntary civility and morality.'"

While she was aware of the popular theory that "America's chief inheritance from its frontier past is 'aggressiveness,'" Cox writes, she considered that theory "'nonsense....On the frontier you have to be polite to your fellow men, and it won't get you anywhere to be aggressive to a blizzard.' What worked out West wasn't aggressiveness but 'a peculiarly individual, mind-your-own-business confidence.'" Paterson cultivated that ethic in herself. Her libertarian vision, then, was not based on atomistic individualism or notions of markets as enforcing sternly puritan virtues of unremitting hard work (though she recognized, as she feared many did not, that the physical benefits of modern market culture did require someone, somewhere to innovate and labor).

In 1910 she married a Canadian real estate agent, Kenneth Birrell Paterson. By 1918 he was out of her life, and she didn't seem to know, or care, where he had gone; romance remained an insignificant part of her life from then on. Through the 1910s she worked on various newspapers in the Pacific Northwest and in New York, writing editorials and drama criticism.

Paterson's first published novel, *The Shadow Riders*, a romance set in the world of Canadian politics, came out in 1916. Five years later, a mutual friend introduced her to Burton Rascoe, literary editor of the New York *Tribune*, later the *Herald-Tribune*. Three years later, she began working for him (although he didn't like her at all on first meeting), and she spent the next 25 years there as a columnist and critic.

Paterson wrote a weekly column, "Turns With a Bookworm," in the paper's "Books" supplement. The *Herald-Tribune*'s literary supplement was a powerful national force; in the mid-'30s it had 30,000 copies distributed separately to bookstores nationwide and an overall circulation of half a million. Best-selling novelist John O'Hara, as his *Appointment in Samarra* was published, admitted to being "very much afraid of Isabel Paterson."

Her job required her to be well-read and well-informed. She was, and she was not afraid to let everyone around her know it. She was deathly bored with typical party scenes and small talk and did not necessarily enjoy the entrée to New York literary society her position earned her. But as one friend told a newspaper writer profiling Paterson in 1953, "If people can stand her at all, they eventually become very fond of her."

Paterson continued to write novels, most of them historical, with some success throughout her career as a critic. One novel set in contemporary times, *Never Ask the End*, became a bestseller in 1933. During the '30s politics began to creep to the forefront of Paterson's attention—although Cox notes that she was always able to pan books she might have been expected to like on political grounds and be fair, even generous, to those whose politics she disdained.

Paterson was appalled by the love for state planning that ruled the literary intellectuals of the '30s. Many were fascists, many communists, but hardly any believed that individuals or markets should be left to run freely. The standard opinion of the time was that markets required technocratic planning. The political themes fully expressed in *The God of the Machine* began showing up in Paterson's columns (which were never strictly about reviewing books) in the '30s and early '40s. These ideological intimations led Edmund Wilson to dismiss her as irrelevant, declaring her "the last surviving person to believe in those quaint old notions on which the republic was founded." Her growing intellectual alienation led her to spend most of her time in a rural home she herself helped build near Stamford, Connecticut, and less time in the thick of the New York scene.

Paterson's beliefs were never obscurantist or conservative in the usual sense. She strongly opposed the common racism of her era and was fascinated with American experiments in living such as the communities of New Harmony and Oneida. One of her favorite aspects of a libertarian society was that it gives more room for conducting social experiments than a collectivist society, where everyone must conform to the plan. She believed that "the highest civilization affords the greatest latitude for variations in conduct" and was proud of having written for *The Nation* in 1931 what she thought was "the only article ever published in this country against any kind of law to forbid prostitution."

Alarmed at Western civilization's tearing itself apart in war, Paterson contemplated the key to what was special and worth preserving in it. (She was fervently against Ameri-

Paterson on board, © CORBIS

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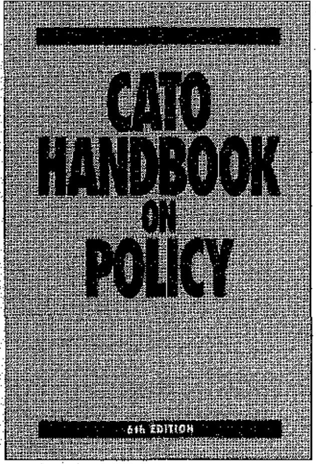

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can intervention at the beginning of World War II, until Pearl Harbor and its aftermath, when she seemed to accept its necessity, though she remained mindful that "modern war is ruin, win or lose or draw" and appalled that conscription took men out of the mighty modern system of production and made them mere cannon fodder.) *The God of the Machine* is Paterson's celebration of the political and economic genius of the West. The title, as Cox notes, could be interpreted to mean either human intelligence, which rules the machine economy; or God himself, "the original 'Source of energy' for the human dynamo and the guarantor of the principles from which human liberty proceeds."

Ayn Rand raved that *The God of the Machine* "does for capitalism what *Das Kapital* did for the Reds" and "what the Bible did for Christianity."

***The God of the Machine* was a** radically individualist attempt to answer the question of why America was so rich and powerful. The most healthy and wealthy of cultures, said Paterson, were those that constituted the most elaborate and stable "long circuit energy systems," which had to run on "absolute security of private property, full personal liberty, and firm autonomous regional bases for a federal structure." (She used often-strained metaphors of human societies as different sorts of energy transmission systems throughout the book.)

To Paterson, ideas were the most important element in human history. "What the past shows," she wrote, "is that the imponderables outweigh every material article in the scales of human endeavor. Nations are not powerful because they possess wide lands, safe ports, large navies, huge armies, fortifications, stores, money, and credit. They acquire those advantages because they are powerful, having devised on correct principles the political structure which allows the flow of energy to take its proper course."

Paterson tried to demonstrate throughout *The God of the Machine* what those correct principles are and show how various cultures rose or fell based on their adherence to them. She explained how America became unprecedentedly powerful and wealthy by approximating the purest application of the proper ideas for structuring human society. Those ideas, essentially, are what might be called strict libertarianism.

Paterson called the Constitution "the greatest political document ever struck off at one time by the mind of men." Her discussion of American history and political life defended classical republican principles against pure democracy; fingered slavery as the "fault in the structure" the Founders built; attacked public schooling and conscription as rank tyranny; and radically assaulted the growth in government since the Progressive Era and the New Deal. Influenced by the thinking of Old Right journalist Garet Garrett, she saw the Depression as triggered by inflationary action and too much debt during the '20s and exacerbated by government attempts to maintain wages and prices and its refusal to let businesses fail. While she was unaware of their works, here and in her thoughts on the value of hard money over paper she echoed the ideas of two other powerful influences on modern libertarianism, Austrian economists Ludwig Von Mises and F.A. Hayek.

Although Paterson has almost no direct disciples on the libertarian scene today, *The God of the Machine* upon release thrilled scattered devotees of the freedom philosophy. John Chamberlain wrote in *The New York Times* that the book showed that "individualist liberals are beginning to recover their poise." Rose Wilder Lane wrote to her pen pal Herbert Hoover that "it seems to me a book ranking with the best of Paine and Madison." Nebraska Republican Rep. Howard Buffett also was a big fan.

Paterson's most significant disciple was Ayn Rand, who raved that *The God of the Machine* "does for capitalism what *Das Kapital* did for the Reds" and "what the Bible did for Christianity." Rand, not usually one to acknowledge intellectual debts to anyone but Aristotle, told Paterson in a letter that "you were the very first person to see how Capitalism *works* in specific application. That is your achievement, which I consider a historical achievement of the first importance....I learned *from you* the historical and economic aspects of Capitalism, which I knew before only in a general way, in the way of general principles."

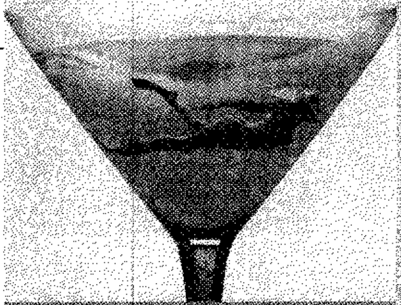
Paterson helped Rand see capitalism's historical role in making men not only free but rich and successful. Their friendship, like most of Rand's, ended acrimoniously, over Paterson's theism, Rand's perception that Paterson did not give her proper credit for her unique contributions to individualist philosophy, and finally over what Rand considered intolerable rudeness to one of Rand's friends while Paterson was visiting Rand's California home.

The God of the Machine sold poorly, representing as it did an unpopular intellectual position. Like most libertarians of the time, Paterson became more and more alienated from the mainstream beliefs of her culture—and from her employers at the *Herald-Tribune*. According to Cox, when Paterson stopped working for the paper, her final editor there, Irita Van Doren (a lover of one-world-government devotee and failed presidential candidate Wendell Willkie) "intimated to inquiring readers that Paterson had 'been retired.' Paterson stated, more straightforwardly, that she had been fired for her political views." Her last column appeared in late January 1949.

Paterson ultimately retreated to a farm in New Jersey, close to Princeton, and found few places to publish after that, ruining relationships with John Chamberlain at *The Freeman* over word rates and with William F. Buckley at the early *National Review* over editorial changes (she wanted none). In retirement she tried (and failed) to sell another novel. Paterson died, largely forgotten, on January 10, 1960, at the home of friends in Montclair, New Jersey. (Lane died eight years later, similarly alienated from readers and the culture at large.) By the time of Paterson's death, Rand, who had learned so much from her, was a best-selling novelist and well on her way to being a campus sensation and high-profile Goddess of Reason.

The links between these three founding mothers of libertarianism are many and tangled, both personal and intellectual, and Cox does a good job of tracing them. Lane's 1943 book is remarkably similar to Paterson's. Both took a world-historical view of the development of human potential based on political institutions, and both tried to explain the link between liberty and the unprecedented prosperity of mid-20th-century America, both using a central metaphor of human energy and its flow.

Lane and Paterson not only wrote very similar books; they had very similar lives. Both began as American frontier girls; both had trou-



Olivia Joules and the Overactive Imagination (cover detail)

Bridget Jones, Super Spy

Chick Lit goes to war.

Tim Cavanaugh

If you blinked last summer, you probably missed the year's most daring, unusual, and insane literary experiment. This one came not from the pen of John Barth or Philip Roth or David Foster Wallace, nor from one of our era's screaming postmodernists, but from Helen Fielding, creator of the wildly popular *Bridget Jones* phenomenon. While her Jane Bond spy/counterterrorism novel *Olivia Joules and the Overactive Imagination* went unappreciated by fans and critics alike—a typical fate for works of art ahead of their time—it demonstrates why Fielding has been such a successful postmodern impresario and multimedia marketing figure.

Such a move would hardly have been necessary for the woman who almost single-handedly invented the Chick Lit fiction genre and undoubtedly invented the genre's most popular segment. (At last count the *Bridget Jones* franchise boasted two novels, two movies, several dating guides, a Happy Meal promo, and countless copycat books in which a single girl in a media-saturated »

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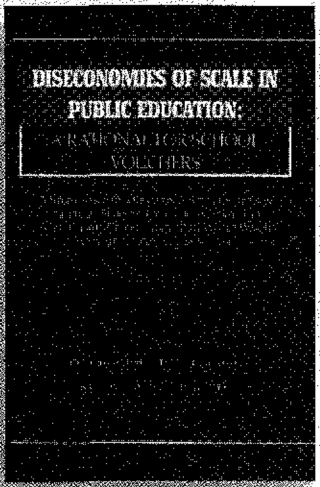
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bled relations with their parents. Both married young and quickly lost track of their husbands; both were popular novelists turned political philosophers; both grew into eccentric rural dotages, refusing Social Security and communicating with only a small, select circle of ideologically congenial confreres.

Lane and Paterson both seemed glad enough to see their husbands disappear; Rand cuckolded her do-nothing spouse in front of his face and with long, tedious rationalizations with which she forced him to agree. Lane had many intimate friendships, involving long-term travel and living arrangements, with other women; Paterson remained a proud exemplar of the Virginia Wolff dream of a woman with a Room of Her Own—in Paterson's case, one she built herself, both literally and figuratively.

Although libertarianism as a modern American ideology and movement was born largely from the work of Paterson, Lane, and Rand, women have tended not to play a large role in continuing the tradition. (There are, of course, notable exceptions, including former **reason** Editor Virginia Postrel, whose focus on "dynamism" as the defining great characteristic of a free society and free market is prefigured in Paterson.) Why haven't women figured more prominently in the libertarian movement during the past few decades? All three of these women would reject the question's premise. They came to their conclusions and their careers as unique individuals, not as women, they would insist. They were individual—and individualist—phenomena, not examples of a type. These were not conventional women. None was concerned with specifically "feminine" issues, which helps explain why Paterson, Lane, and Rand have not attracted much attention from contemporary feminist scholars.

Did what they accomplished matter? Paterson, the novelist and literary critic, believed so much in the centrality of ideas to human history that she thought the world of books "actually comprises the world [human beings] have lived in, both mentally and physically. Everyone who lives in this country lives in books"—even an illiterate who "liv[es] in books he has never read."

Rand and Lane might not have agreed—Rand's major heroes in her last novel, *Atlas Shrugged*, were industrialists and inventors, not artists or intellectuals per se—but the history of their influence bears out Paterson's contention. Libertarians influenced by these three women, either firsthand or secondhand, are working to craft an America that, if they succeed, will be living in books that it mostly has never read. It will be an America that, they all would argue, will be better, richer, freer, and truer to its own roots.

Paterson, whose *God of the Machine* could be viewed as an extended valentine extolling America's many virtues, would be pleased to know that a set of ideas so well articulated by a woman who died long forgotten could still be in active play in America today, connected back to her by a long-circuit series of influences. But she would not be surprised. She knew that the individual mind was the dynamo that moved the world. ■

Senior Editor Brian Doherty (bdoherty@reason.com) is the author of This Is Burning Man (Little, Brown) and a history of American libertarianism, forthcoming in 2006 from PublicAffairs.

Speaker (cover detail)

Denny the Dullard

Speaker of the House Hastert's all-too-revealing autobiography

Charles Oliver

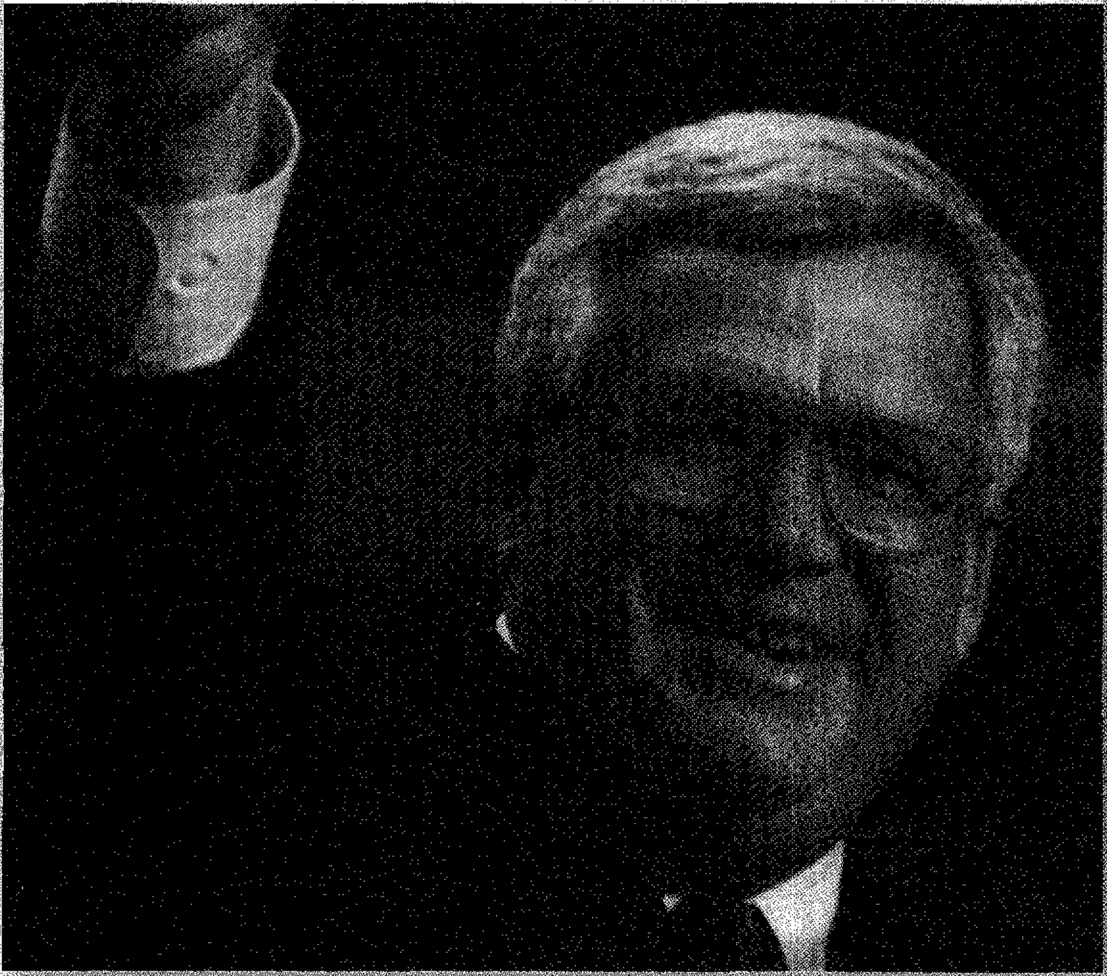
Speaker: Lessons From Forty Years in Coaching and Politics, by Denny Hastert, Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 312 pages, $27.95

THOSE WHO CAN, do. Those who can't, teach. Those who can't teach, coach. And those who can't coach become speaker of the House of Representatives.

OK, that's a bit unfair to Dennis "Denny" Hastert. In *Speaker: Lessons From Forty Years in Coaching and Politics*, he tells us that in his 16 years coaching high school wrestling, he produced one state championship team and almost a dozen individual state champions and was once named state coach of the year in Illinois. That's not a bad record. Then again, Lou Albano managed 18 world tag team wrestling champions, two intercontinental champions, and one world wrestling champion in the WWWF (later WWF and WWE). And no one seems to be seeking his political leadership.

Still, Hastert says his experience in coaching taught him several lessons that have propelled him to political success, such as "Never underestimate your opponent" and "Never rely on your opponent to help you win." (Aren't those really the same thing?) The real lesson of this book, however, is that it's physically dangerous to stand between Denny Hastert and higher office. One of his longtime aides once summed up Hastert's rise to power as "illness, illness, scandal, and dumb luck." That's no joke. (No, really—Hastert's jokes aren't that funny.)

In 1980 Hastert lost the Republican nomination for an open seat in the Illinois legislature. Just a few weeks later, the other Republican who represented the three-seat district had a stroke



echelon of New York, London, L.A., or another metropolis must choose between a charming cad and a slightly dull Mr. Right while fending off a beautiful and treacherous rival.) But it turns out that Fielding, like the rest of us, had to do some readjusting after the 9/11 attacks.

Thus, *Olivia Joules* probes an area of wish fulfillment that hasn't heretofore received much attention (and, given the book's lackluster performance, probably won't receive much more). At the heart of the novel is a woman's desire to get in there and kick some ass in the war on terrorism.

Considering the author's penchant for cultural borrowing and sly self-reference, it's not surprising that the book essentially transposes the familiar character types from the Fielding universe (heroine, cad, rival, and Mr. Right) to a globetrotting espionage adventure. Nor, considering the book's subject matter and context, is it surprising that *Olivia Joules* frequently flirts with questionable taste. When an Osama bin Laden look-alike is described as a "compelling mixture of soulful and powerful" with "finely drawn features, a straight nose, fine, arched brows, hooded brown eyes," and an "aristocratic" and "languid" bearing, you may find yourself swooning for all the wrong reasons.

Then again, that's a pretty apt physical description of bin Laden, and the concept of an international terrorist as the ultimate dangerous dreamboat » and gave up his nomination for reelection. Party bosses picked Hastert, and he won.

Six years later, after U.S. Rep. John Grotberg (R-Ill.) was nominated for a second term, he was diagnosed with cancer and fell into a coma. The Illinois state Republican convention drafted Hastert, and the wrestling coach was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 1998 House Republicans were growing tired of the leadership of Newt Gingrich, the Georgia Republican who had masterminded the GOP takeover of the House and his own rise to the speaker's chair four years earlier. "He would have good ideas; he was just amazing with good ideas," Hastert writes. "The problem was he would have three good ideas a day. He'd give me the job of following through on at least one of them. I'd still be working on this one idea that was, say, two weeks old when all of a sudden he'd change course."

Sensing that Republicans were once again ready for a leader with no good ideas, Rep. Robert Livingston (R-La.) decided to challenge Gingrich. Three days after the November 1998 elections, in which House Republicans lost five seats, Gingrich announced he would not seek reelection as speaker. Days later, the Republican conference nominated Livingston to replace him. But in December, Livingston admitted to an extramarital affair and announced he would stand down.

Hastert says that even before Livingston finished his resignation speech he received a call from Gingrich telling him he was the only one who could pull the Republicans back together again. (Hastert doesn't mention that a year later, Gingrich would divorce his second wife amid rumors he was having an affair with an aide he later married.) Other Republican leaders in the House quickly joined Gingrich in urging Hastert to stand for speaker, and the Republican conference elected him to the post on December 19, 1998.

Hastert never says why Republicans thought he was the "only one" who could lead them. Presumably, we are supposed to believe it was because of his experience and skill. But at the same time the Republican conference was selecting a speaker, the House was voting on articles of impeachment against President Bill Clinton. For most of 1998, newspapers and television newscasts had been filled with politicians involved in sex scandals or alleged scandals; Clinton, Gingrich, and Livingston were just the most notable. Hastert admits that voters were growing weary of it all and that it hurt his party. He just doesn't seem to have considered the possibility that his peers elected him because they considered him the House Republican least likely to be having sex.

Hastert writes that one of his fellow coaches would tell players with injured fingers or feet to "spit on it and rub it." If Hastert had offered that same advice to some of his fellow congressmen, he might never have become speaker. (The future speaker showed he was a politician, not a lover, at heart with the way he asked his then-girlfriend to marry him: "Well, people think we ought to get married.")

Soon after being sworn in, Hastert says he and other House Republicans agreed on four things they needed to do to secure America's future. At the top of the list: Be fiscally responsible

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Free Minds and Free Markets

and balance the budget. That's one of the last times in the book we hear any talk of balanced budgets.

One can understand why Hastert doesn't want to admit that on his watch federal spending and deficits have skyrocketed. But why did the Republicans fail to achieve their top goal? Hastert offers no answers or even excuses. But a close reading of his autobiography gives us some clues.

From the time Hastert entered government, he has seen his job as cutting deals, passing bills, and getting re-elected. He really seems to come alive when detailing all the arm twisting and deal making behind various pieces of legislation. Thus, when he lists the accomplishments of Congress during his time as speaker, we get laundry lists of bills that have passed. "By substantial margins, we had approved the Do Not Call and Do Not Spam bills aimed at stopping consumers from being harassed through their phones or computer lines," he writes of the 108th Congress. "We passed the Amber alert bill to keep our kids safe from kidnappers, and we okayed spending to combat AIDS at the highest level yet."

Hastert doesn't seem to have considered the possibility that his peers elected him because they considered him the House Republican least likely to be having sex.

When Hastert talks of congressional failures, it always has to do with legislation that didn't pass. "All that work on a bill of some twelve hundred pages had gone up in smoke," he writes of an energy bill passed by the House that didn't make it through the Senate. "Once a bill of that magnitude falls apart it is almost impossible to put it back together."

Hastert doesn't seem to question whether the laws he passes actually do what they're intended to do, much less whether they square with his professed goal of making the federal government smaller. But then Hastert—a slow reader who watches little television and few movies—doesn't seem terribly introspective or aware of life beyond the halls of Congress.

By Hastert's account, most of his fellow lawmakers are cut from similar cloth. "Back in 1977, a House committee study found that members worked eleven-hour days and spent only thirty-three minutes 'at such contemplative tasks as reading, thinking or writing,'" he writes. "I haven't checked recently, but I'm sure the breakdown is even worse today." When Hastert describes the creation of the Department of Homeland Security as "the largest government reorganization since 1947," I suspect he isn't just trying to divert attention from the fact that ostensibly small-government Republicans had created yet another new federal bureaucracy. He really doesn't realize that's what happened.

Hastert also seems genuinely surprised that his son Josh is a lobbyist (or "government consultant," as they prefer to be called now). "I never dreamed that Josh would ever want to do something like that," he writes. "When he was growing up, he was sort of an anti-government guy."

House Republicans under Hastert's leadership have undergone a similar metamorphosis. They've grown comfortable with government power now that they wield it. They may mouth the occasional "small government" words, but they are far more interested in process than principles.

That must be what it means to become the governing party. ■

Contributing Editor Charles Oliver (oliverc2@yahoo.com) is a Georgia-based reporter.

is, at the very least, an idea you don't run across every day. At its best, *Olivia Joules* takes the most dreadful and serious business of our time and cheerfully places it in the context of a genre known mainly for its starstruck, media-engorged frothiness. Several times, the title character escapes from jams that would, in the real world, more likely have ended with her having her head sawed off after delivering a horrifying, tearful plea for her life on videotape. Readers may differ on whether this combination of Chick Lit and techno-thriller succeeds, but it's hard not to admire the audacity of the experiment.

Alas, these are tough times for both single women *and* experimental novels. Fielding's use of real-world terrors in the service of a beach read is, in the words of one critic, "inappropriate at best and offensive at worst." Maybe, but this puts Fielding in venerable company. World War II was an occasion not only for solemn unity of purpose but for stupid comedies like Abbott and Costello's *Buck Privates* and Hal Roach's *The Devil With Hitler*, a two-reeler so bad it should have been deployed as a terror weapon itself. Later, James Bond's SMERSH opponents were straightforward Soviet agents, servants of an enemy whose chief products were heavy industrial planning, falsified crop reports, and mass murder. That didn't prevent Bond from traveling to every exotic spot in the world to dispatch them in ever more ridiculous ways. The »

Humanizing Gun Nuts

An anthropologist shoots down stereotypes about gun enthusiasts.

Eric Dzinski

Shooters: Myths and Realities of America's Gun Cultures, by Abigail A. Kohn, New York: Oxford University Press, 224 pages, $29.95

If there's a gun in a scene, an old writer's adage says, it had better go off. As that bit of advice suggests, there are few symbols more powerful than guns. They can represent liberation from oppression or serve as a weighty physical reminder of a lurking existential threat. No matter the association, the powerful emotional responses that guns elicit are largely responsible for the stagnant and vitriolic nature of the current gun control debate.

In *Shooters*, anthropologist Abigail Kohn argues that both sides of the debate have become so alienated from one another that they effectively form subcultures, and she studies them accordingly. Kohn calls *Shooters* an ethnography, an anthropological study conducted from within a culture to gain the "natives' point of view." Rather than studying gun enthusiasts though literature and statistics, or from behind a duck blind to ensure "objectivity," Kohn spent time with enthusiasts, interviewing them, taking classes with them, and shooting with them.

Her research methods appear to be scrupulous. She confined her survey to a particular area (the San Francisco Bay area) rather than glossing the gun culture as a whole. She published her standard questionnaire as an appendix to the book, and the citations she offers to support her claims seem to come from both sides of the gun control debate. The result is a fascinating look into the world(s) of gun enthusiasm that puts real, human faces on a gun debate dominated by antiseptic statistics and abstract principles. After reading *Shooters*, you'll wonder why no one has done such a study before.

The omission may stem from the typical attitude toward guns among academics, which Kohn addresses in her preface. From "public health" articles proposing gun control as a cure for the "epidemic" of gun violence to highly regarded sociologists who argue that gun research should be informed by "moral principles" rather than hard facts, she confesses her surprise at the ill-informed and often tendentious research conducted by academics. Kohn's own research for *Shooters*, some of which appeared in this magazine ("Their Aim Is True," May 2001), elicited predictable responses. One colleague said she was performing a "social service by researching 'such disgusting people.'" Another said that unless Kohn acknowledged the "inherent pathology" of gun enthusiasm, she was disrespecting victims of gun violence.

The women and minorities in Kohn's book are acutely aware of the link between gun ownership and citizenship in the United States.

The characters that emerge from Kohn's interviews and observations are far more complex and interesting than the "gun nut" stereotypes that such comments suggest. The shooters in *Shooters* are diverse, including doctors, lawyers, artists, and men and women of various ages and races. Even their political persuasions are not as predictable as you might expect. While most of the people in Kohn's book describe themselves as conservative, a few are politically liberal and say they regularly vote Democrat.

Kohn focuses particular attention on the women shooters, trying to determine what makes them want to be a part of the "boys' club" of gun enthusiasm. The women that Kohn takes shooting classes with (and from) say owning firearms makes them feel less vulnerable, less like potential victims, and more like people in control of their own destinies. While some feminist scholars argue that female gun enthusiasts just reinforce violent and aggressive patriarchal tendencies, these shooters argue that by being armed they discourage male violence without the need for aggression.

It is here that Kohn's work takes its most interesting turn. The women and minorities in Kohn's book are acutely aware of the link between gun ownership and citizenship in the United States. Several of her subjects point to historical periods when certain segments of the population—blacks in the post–Civil War South, for example—were disarmed and enjoyed fewer rights and liberties than whites who had guns. That guns can and have been used by the oppressed to ward off their oppressors suggests that they can be a tool for equality as well as freedom.

Even today, gun control has a disproportionate impact on poor people and minorities. Laws that target inexpensive guns (supposedly used more often in crimes) unfairly disarm people without the means

to afford more costly firearms. Poor people are also disproportionately the victims of gun violence, meaning they have a greater stake in the right to self-defense.

The alternative that some anti-gun activists have suggested is reliance on the police, rather than guns, for protection. Shooters and gun scholars alike note that this solution is promoted by white middle-class gun critics for whom violence is not a daily reality and for whom the police are polite and responsive rather than menacing. They also note that in times of crisis, the minutes a police officer may take to respond could mean the difference between life and death. Shooters prefer the independence and reliability of self-defense.

These doctrines of self-reliance, toughness, and independence underlie a subculture that Kohn investigates thoroughly in *Shooters*: cowboy action shooting. More than an antique gun club, cowboy action shooting is a sport devoted to preserving the styles and ideals as well as the weapons of the Old West. Participants dress up in boots and hats and run through elaborate courses using period weapons.

Some of the most colorful characters in Kohn's book populate her chapter on cowboy action shooting. Shooters with names like "Wild Bill Hiccup" run through target courses with cigars clenched in their teeth, playing out Old West fantasies. Kohn's analysis occasionally drifts toward questionable psychosocial generalizations, such as her claim that cowboy action shooting is an attempt to reclaim a "white, middle-class identity" through Wild West reenactments, despite participation by minorities and people of various economic classes. But by and large her account of this sport is delightfully thorough, especially to readers who had no idea it existed.

The chief weakness in this otherwise excel-

>> Bridget Jones, Super Spy

Anglo-American alliance may be better than everybody else in the art of war, but it's *way* better than anybody else in the art of fun, omnivorous commercial culture.

That culture gets short shrift in times of grim crisis and "moral seriousness," but we ignore its value at our peril. The war on terrorism has been marked by a strange cultural bipolarity: the hemisphere of policy is a place of relentless tragedy, while the hemisphere of culture and communication stays sane by walling off the other hemisphere. Like Matt Stone and Trey Parker's puppet-driven Bruckheimer parody *Team America: World Police* (another fiscal disappointment), *Olivia Joules* was a madcap effort to bridge those two worlds. It's probable that the book's poor reception will render Fielding *hors de combat* in the terror war, but here's hoping she takes another crack at what was clearly conceived as a new series. ■

Tim Cavanaugh (tcavanaugh@reason.com) is **reason***'s Web editor.*

Olivia Joules and the Overactive Imagination jacket detail

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lent book is Kohn's ambitious linking of ideas. Describing a shooter who thinks the world of gun enthusiasm is not demarcated by color, class, or gender, she writes, "This belief in the inherent diversity of gun enthusiasm as it's practiced is interesting for several reasons." Here and elsewhere, she uses the word *inherent* to link one belief held by a shooter to a wider, more abstract idea about shooting in general. The problem is that in the world of ideas (and certainly in the world of anthropology) there is no such thing as inherent connections.

People in different cultures will form entirely different concepts around the same object. Even two people in the same culture will make different connections between sets of ideas. At least once in *Shooters*, one of Kohn's subjects makes the point that while shooters all share at least aspects of the hobby, they come to it from different backgrounds and for different reasons. Kohn's emphasis on "inherent" beliefs seems out of place in a book that tries to map the diversity of ideas within the gun culture.

Although *Shooters* is supposed to be an ethnographic study of a particular subculture, near the end Kohn leaps to conclusions about the broader gun control debate. She argues that both sides of the debate must be willing to give up some fundamental assumptions and tactics in order to make gun legislation work for everyone.

She emphasizes, for example, that guns have been an integral part of American culture at least since the nation's founding and that no amount of gun control will ever bring about the fundamental change its proponents imagine. On the other side, she argues that gun enthusiasts must give up the belief that gun control has no effect on crime, citing laws that prohibit felons from owning firearms as an example of effective gun control. (She fails to mention that those same felons can still get guns illegally.)

Although Kohn's conclusions are thought-provoking and display a wealth of research about the subject, they depart substantially from her avowed purpose. They frame a discussion more suited to a general debate about the merits of gun control than to a targeted study of gun enthusiasm.

Those weaknesses aside, Kohn paints a fascinating portrait of gun enthusiasts. Studying people who are often maligned as racist, jingoistic troglodytes, she portrays a lively and diverse group brought together by common interests in history, mechanics, and liberty. Her colleagues in academia should take her insights to heart, replacing their blind disgust with a more dispassionate understanding of citizens who see a gun as a tool, not a menace. ■

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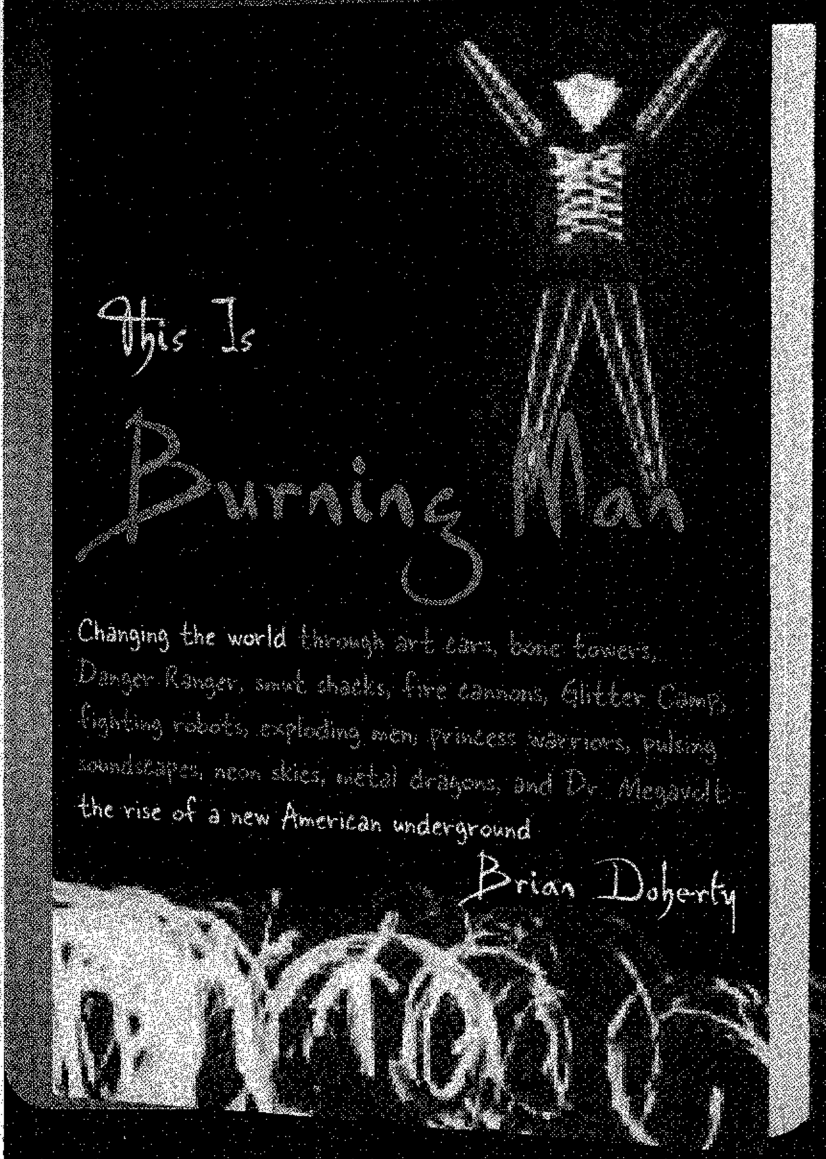
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Doctor Sex, Ph.D.

Are we all Kinseyans now?

Julian Sanchez

ALFRED C. KINSEY is controversial again. A biologist who spent the first part of his career as an unobtrusive cataloger of gall wasps, Kinsey was, depending on whom you ask, either the harbinger or the catalyst of the sexual revolution. His frank catalogs of American sexual practices, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), were a revelation at a time when many Americans still told their kids that touching yourself *down there* was a form of "self-abuse."

Now Kinsey is the subject of two major works of fiction, Bill Condon's film *Kinsey* and T.C. Boyle's novel *The Inner Circle*. The University of Indiana—where Kinsey was based for 36 years and created the institute that bears his name—apparently sensed a propitious occasion to move a few copies of Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy's 1998 biography: It has issued a new paperback edition of *Kinsey: Sex the Measure of All Things*. It is an indication of the religious right's loathing of Kinsey that the picture, probably the least titillating movie ever in which sex plays a central role, prompted protests and denunciatory press releases.

For many who bemoan the greater sexual openness of the last half-century, Kinsey is not merely a messenger to be shot but a figure imbued with an almost supernatural power to change the culture. If only Kinsey's influence could be undone, they sometimes imply, the last 50 years would switch into rewind, a sexual implosion ending with the lid clattering closed atop Pandora's Box. For those who celebrate the sexual revolution, the doctor was the ultimate father confessor, listening patiently to the nation's sex history, then improving on absolution by declaring that almost none of it was a sin after all.

Condon's film, while occasionally painting Kinsey as irritable or emotionally obtuse, is a passion play, with Kinsey a martyr to the cause of sexual liberation. Seen in *The Inner Circle* through the eyes of an admiring younger colleague, John Milk (a barely disguised version of Kinsey collaborator Clyde Martin), Boyle's Kinsey is a more domineering, far less sympathetic figure who inspires in colleagues and subordinates the kind of terror his own father had once inspired in him. Taken together, these portraits capture the paradoxes of the real Kinsey: Rebelling against a strict Methodist upbringing of the sort that had caused so much sexual frustration, he became an evangelist for sexual liberty. And as he became the imperious head of a personality cult, he preached total freedom but demanded total fealty.

Yet *The Inner Circle* reads as an encomium next to the bilious assessments of Kinsey's detractors, among whom *monster* seems to be the favored epithet. Most of their criticisms are hysterical. Because Kinsey used data gathered from the sex histories of pedophiles, for example, he is absurdly charged with suborning child molestation. Even the very real flaws in Kinsey's studies—his tendency toward Skinnerian reductionism, his relatively unsophisticated statistical methods—are magnified beyond recognition. Many people, for instance, "know" that Kinsey is responsible for the "discredited" claim that 10 percent of the population is gay. But he never said any such thing: His actual claim was that about 4 percent are exclusively homosexual, while 10 percent are predominantly homosexual for periods of two years or more.

It's well known that Kinsey's extensive sample of sexual histories—still used as a benchmark for contemporary sex researchers—relied too heavily on subjects in prisons or mental hospitals, a fact he belatedly recognized and attempted to correct in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Less well known is that one of his colleagues, Paul Gebhard, re-examined the data sets in *Human Male* with those suspect histories excluded and found that the effect on Kinsey's conclusions was insignificant.

It's easier to focus on Kinsey's flaws because so many of his then-radical findings—adolescent masturbation all but ubiquitous! premarital sex rampant! married couples performing oral sex! millions of gays among us!—now seem so obvious as to barely deserve mention. But some of Kinsey's other discoveries, though uncontroversial among professionals in the field, remain unassimilated.

At a preview screening of the film in Washington, D.C., director Condon offered the surprising opinion that Kinsey would have had strong reservations about the contemporary gay movement. Americans still tend to think of sexuality in binary terms: a world of absolute straights and gays, with the mysterious bisexual tacked on as an afterthought. Kinsey mapped sexual orientation on a seven-point scale, on which exclusive heterosexuality and homosexuality were only the extremes—a scale further developed by later researchers. That view

Kinsey, Ken Regan/Camera 5

has penetrated popular consciousness far less than Kinsey's other findings. (Some gay activists may fear that a less rigidly binary view of sexuality would give ammunition to traditionalists: "If it's all a fluid continuum, then *why can't you change?*")

Kinsey's more complex picture of sexuality reveals that, in a sense, even the term *gay rights* is unfortunate. After all, we don't refer to free speech as "political agitators' rights." Perhaps a more Kinseyan conception would encourage us to recognize "gay rights," if we must use the term, as rights *we all* enjoy, whether or not we care to exercise them.

The tendency to make sexual politics into identity politics may have been exacerbated by Kinsey's own strategy of focusing on the prevalence of different sexual behaviors—homosexuality, masturbation, sado-masochism—on the theory that "everybody's sin is nobody's sin." The doctor's thought is well-intentioned, but it doesn't make much sense. Philately is doubtless more aberrant than deception, but that tells us nothing about their relative morality.

Better is the lesson Condon's Kinsey offers in one of his lectures on gall wasps: "If every living thing is different, then diversity becomes life's irreducible fact." Kinsey tried to tell America that all sexual behavior is normal. A better lesson might be that, in the bedroom and elsewhere, we're all fantastically weird. ■

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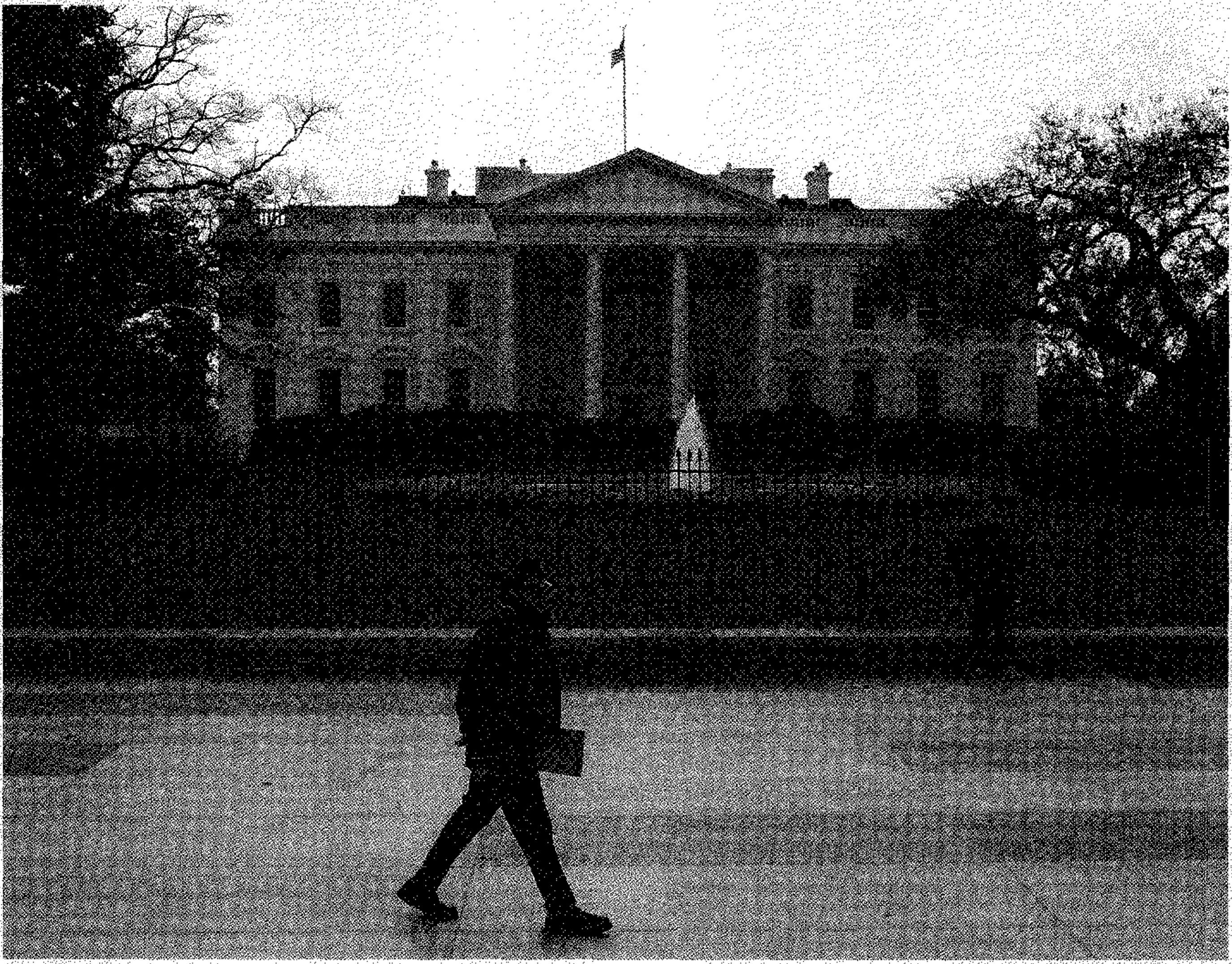

North sid[illegible]ite House after Pennsylvania Avenue reopened.

No Through Street

Charles Paul Freund

HERE IS THE new pedestrian plaza in front of the White House. The space used to be a typically busy downtown street, but after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing it was "temporarily" closed to traffic. 9/11 sealed its fate as a city street.

First Lady Laura Bush formally "reopened" this stretch of Pennsylvania Avenue in November, but its permanent transformation into a plaza is really another stage in the closing of what was once the world's most open capital. Many D.C. streets are being narrowed or obliterated, and the city's once-grand open spaces are increasingly interrupted by concrete barriers, chain-link fences, bollards, and armed guards. *The Washington Post*'s editorial page editor, Fred Hiatt, has argued that the experience of Washington now evokes fear, and that "the openness that must be the hallmark of a working democracy" is being lost.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan had the same concerns about the capital in the wake of September 11. Speaking at a symposium on security in November 2001, the former senator noted that "architecture is inescapably a political art, and it reports faithfully for ages to come what the political values of a particular age were." Surely, he added, "ours must be openness and fearlessness in the face of those who hide in the darkness. A precaution, yes, sequester, no." ■

The Political Economy of Anti-Americanism

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Major foreign policy differences, especially regarding the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, have contributed to the deterioration of relationships between the United States and our traditional allies in Western Europe. There can be no doubt that some European leaders stonewalled the Bush administration on Iraq in order to provide lateral support to the Kerry campaign. With the Bush victory, however, Europe may choose the wiser path of mending fences with Washington.

Yet **an anti-American spirit has been unleashed in the European street, and it will be difficult to tame, not only because of foreign policy but also because of economics**. Poor economic performance in Europe feeds a politics of resentment, and the scapegoat has been the United States.

In 2000, the European Union (EU) launched the ambitious Lisbon process, a reform agenda enabling the EU to become "the most competitive and dynamic, knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth, creating more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" by the year 2010. Lisbon was also a declaration of competition with the United States for global economic primacy. A high-level commission headed by former Dutch prime minister Wim Koks recently determined, however, that European economic performance was deeply disappointing. The gap with the United States has been growing larger, and the Lisbon goals are further away than ever.

Third-quarter growth in the United States was reported at 3.7 percent, a figure eliciting disappointment because it was lower than some had expected. Compare this, however, with the euro economies, where growth in 2004 may only reach 1.8 percent and is predicted to climb at most to a breathtaking 1.9 percent in 2005. Why is growth so slow? The Koks report blames politicians for failing to carry out necessary reforms.

The inability to reform—in the labor market, in impediments to trade, and in the social welfare network—is precisely where the problem of anti-Americanism enters. Efforts to deregulate and liberalize the economy are easily tagged with negative labels: French pundits denounce them as "Anglo-Saxon"; German politicians shun them as the feared "American conditions." **Although Europe urgently needs structural reform, it hides behind the smoke screen of anti-Americanism**, which is really anticapitalism. Rejecting America because of capitalism, however, means repressing the European tradition of free market thinkers from Adam Smith to Friedrich von Hayek.

Many Europeans believe that their slow economy is the price they must pay for their elaborate welfare state. This, however, turns out to be an illusion. A recent study by the Austrian Labor Council shows that the portion of GDP devoted to the social safety net is greater in the United States than it is in Europe; although European states generously pay out more in welfare benefits, they take much more back through higher tax rates.

At the end of the day, anti-Americanism as a block to economic reform inhibits European prosperity. The more Europeans demonstrate, the farther they fall behind. Good-bye to Lisbon.

—Russell A. Berman

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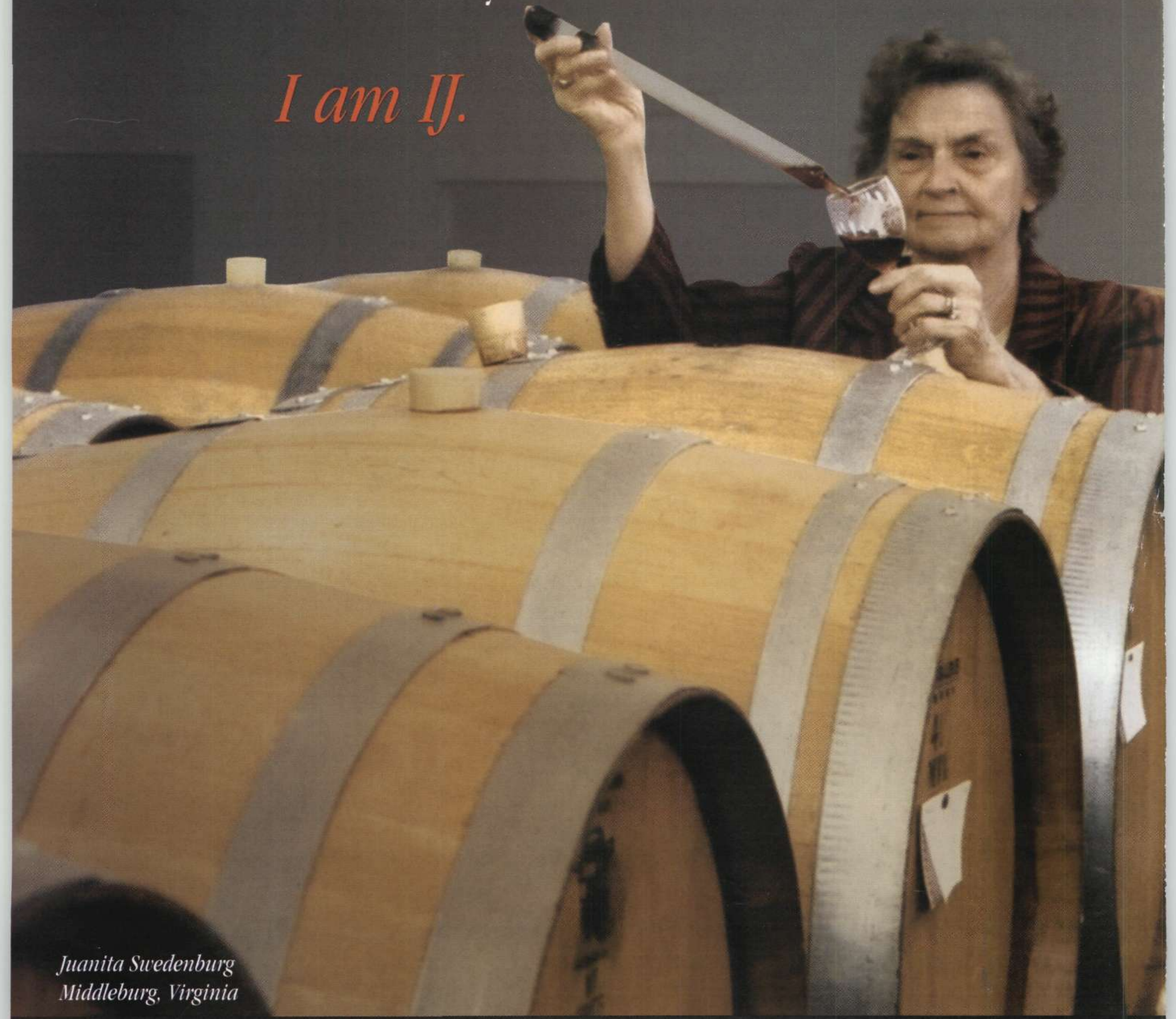

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